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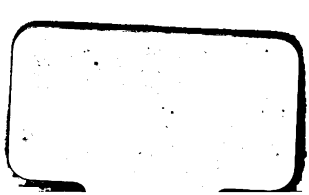

THE

ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES

ON

THE CROWN,

EDITED,

FROM THE TEXT OF BAITER AND SAUPPE,

WITH ENGLISH NOTES, AND GRAMMATICAL REFERENCES,

BY THE REV.

THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.

RECTOR OF LYNDON,

AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1851.

290. h. 86.

EXPLANATION OF MARKS, &c.

J. = Jacobs. *R.* = Reiske.
D. = Dissen. *Schæf.* = Schæfer.
B. or *Br.* = Bremi. *Wst.* = Westermann.
Jn. = *join* the words in the following order, in construing the passage.

The numbers to which § is prefixed refer to Mr. Jelf's edition of Kühner; the rest to my Grammars; those enclosed in parenthetical marks being to the *smaller* Grammar.

The Grammars to which the references are made are—

a. A Grammar of the Greek Language, chiefly from the German of Raphael Kühner. By William Edward Jelf, Student of Christ Church. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. 1845 (Accidence). Vol. II. 1842 (Syntax).

b. A Greek Grammar; intended as a sufficient Grammar of Reference for Schools and Colleges. By the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A. Second Edition. London, 1848.

c. An Elementary Greek Grammar. By the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A. London, 1848.

My experience in editing the present volume justifies me in expressing, with some confidence, a hope that my *smaller Grammar* will be found to contain a notice of *very nearly all* the difficulties of Attic prose that are not of exceedingly rare occurrence.

In the notes from Jacobs I have usually left the author's *references*, though the works referred to will, for the most part, be inaccessible to the student; but these references are enclosed in parentheses, and will be useful to readers who are acquainted with the critical literature of Germany.

T. K. A.

ERRATA.

Page 24, D, *for* συντελῆς *read* συντελής
— 154, line 9, *omit* either *before* vexatious

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Τεῖχος μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προύβάλετο τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρῤῥαγεστέρων τε καὶ βέλτιον, τήν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν "οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠχύρωσα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινὶ συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς τῇ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης" οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλλετο. Πεντηκοστὸς γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτό, ῥᾳθῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν παρέχεσθαι ψιλὴν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. Εἰς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει. Ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὓς ἡ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε· καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιὰ ἡ πόλις ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. Ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἡ τιμὴ θαυμαστή· διὸ καὶ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἥψατο, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή. Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων ἄρχοντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν κελεύοντα, ἐὰν μέν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει. Καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Αἰσχί-

νης κέχρηται· πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἄρχεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἤτοι νόμου μέρος, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσηται.

ΕΤΕΡΑ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἡττήθησαν. Ἐπικρατήσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδὼν φρουρὰν μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δουλεύουσαν. Ἐλπίσαντες οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν ἥξειν προσδοκῶντες τὸν τύραννον, ἐσκέψαντο τὰ πεπονηκότα μέρη τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπανορθώσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς τειχοποιοὶ προεβλήθησαν. Τοιόνδε καὶ ἡ Πανδιονὶς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἵλετο πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τὸν ῥήτορα. Τῆς τοίνυν ἐργασίας ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσδεηθεὶς ἔτι χρημάτων μετὰ τὰ δεδομένα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπάνησε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ κατεχαρίσατο. Ταύτην ἀφορμὴν ὁ Κτησιφῶν, εἷς τῶν πολιτευομένων, δεξάμενος εἰσήνεγκε γνώμην ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην, "ἐπειδὴ διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ νῦν δὲ τειχοποιὸς ὢν καὶ προσδεηθεὶς χρημάτων οἴκοθεν παρέσχε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο, διὰ τοῦτο δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδιῶν ἀγομένων καινῶν," ἴσως ὅτε πλήθη συντρέχει ἐπιθυμοῦντα καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν. Εἰσαγομένου τοίνυν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ἐφίσταται τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατήγορος Αἰσχίνης, ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπάρχων ἐχθρός, παράνομον εἶναι φάσκων πρὸς τρεῖς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμα, ἕνα μὲν τὸν κελεύοντα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, πρὶν ἂν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας· οὕτω δὲ ταύτας, φησίν, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐδεδώκει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ διοικῶν καὶ τειχοποιῶν, καὶ ἔδει ἀναμεῖναι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ γέρας, ἕως ἂν ὀφθῇ καθαρὸς ἐξετασθείς. Δεύτερον δὲ ἀναγινώσκει νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐν Πυκνὶ στεφανοῦσθαι, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς δεξαμένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορευθῆναι τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸν στέφανον. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος νόμος εἰς τὴν ὅλην ὁρᾷ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέτασιν· κελεύει γὰρ μηδέποτε ψευδῆ γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μετρῷον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὅλα τὰ δημόσια γράμματα. Εὐσεβῆ δέ, φησίν, εὔνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν μαρτυρήσας τῷ Δημοσθένει· κακόνους γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ πολέμιος εὑρίσκεται τῇ πατρίδι. Τούτου τοῦ νόμου χρησίμου τυγχάνοντος, τοῦ τρίτου, ἀντιλαβόμενος ὡς πέρ τινος ἀγκύρας ὁ ῥήτωρ κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἀντίδικον, μεθόδῳ δεινοτάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου χρησάμενος. Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἔσχε λαβὴν ἐλεῖν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι τὸν πολέμιον. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τόν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέῤῥιψε, στρατηγικῶς κακοὺς

δ' εἰς μέσον ἐλάσας, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ διοικεῖν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος. Δοκῶν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ὑπερβαίνειν τὸ νόμιμον, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τῷ νομίμῳ προσέχρηται· καὶ γὰρ νόμον ἀνέγνω Αἰσχίνης τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων ψευδῆ, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀποκρινόμενος εὗρε καιρὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πολιτεύματα, ὡς νομίμῳ μαχόμενος. Καὶ ἡ μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη, κεφάλαιον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὲν Αἰσχίνῃ τὸ νόμιμον, τῷ δὲ ῥήτορι τὸ δίκαιον, κοινὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ συμφέρον, οὐκ ἔχον φανερὰν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. Ἡ στάσις ἔγγραφος πραγματική· περὶ ῥητοῦ γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα.

Τῆς δὲ γραφῆς ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀποτεθείσης, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κρίσις. Ὡς γὰρ ἀπέθανε Φίλιππος καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τεθαρσηκότες ἐξέβαλον, ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καταφρονηθεὶς τὰς Θήβας κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα μεταγνοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ἐξεχώρησε τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν κρίσει παραδοῦναι τοὺς προδότας τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ οὕτω συνεκροτήθη τὸ δικαστήριον.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι. 1 Α Β

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μεγάλα, ἓν μέν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. Ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. Κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα 2

ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. Πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

3 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ
B τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. Περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελ-
C θεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἁπάντων.

4 Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, [βούλομαι] πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ'
D ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

5 Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τἄλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

6 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε

περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε A
με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ᾐτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ
παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ
ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη·
εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν
μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἄλλων πιστεύετε (ἦλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο),
ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ
πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακο-
ήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τοὺς περὶ B
τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς
τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο·
οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ
κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης
τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ
τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγά- 7
λας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρ-
όντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει
καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα C
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρη-
μένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν
λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν
τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου
τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν
οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά
με ἐώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὗσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῴδει
καὶ διεξῄει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικῆ-
ματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με ἐώρα,
εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα D
παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρόνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον·
οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ
δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. Καὶ
μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῄει ἦ καὶ ἄλλ'
ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἐώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ
τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι
χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατη-
γορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ
δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγ-

Α χους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ
λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. Εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν
ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλον τὴν πρὸς
ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προῖσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκὼς
ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. Καίτοι
πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν
τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ'
εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι
δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

8 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἄν
Β τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα·
βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ'
ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ
πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. Ἔστι
δ' ἀναγκαῖον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ'
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς
τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

9 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ
C δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω
διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ
δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι
παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς
γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ'
ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες
Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ
πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά
τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν
ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. Ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν
D ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων
πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς
ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο
καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. Ὡς δὲ ταλαιπορούμενοι τῷ μήκει
τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι
φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς,
Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις,
ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. Τί οὖν
συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἑκόντας
ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν
εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἳ πόλεμον συν-

εχῃ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν A
πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν
οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον
ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἑτοίμως
ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα
εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ
δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ
παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἴτια εὑρήσει.
Καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξ-
έρχομαι. Εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδί-
κημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν B
καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής,
ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας
ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνη κοινωνός,
οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόν-
τες ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὔ-
βουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. Ἀλλ' ὅμως,
τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω
δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκειν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς
ἆρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς
εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην C
ποιήσασθαι. Εἶτ' ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι;
ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν,
ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξῄεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως
ἡγανάκτησας ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας
καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν
ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾷν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τοντοισί. Οὐ
τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σον ταύτην τὴν
φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλ-
μένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξειληλεγ- D
μένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν. Χωρὶς δὲ
τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται·
εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκα-
λεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις
ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν
ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί
γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὔκουν
οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνο-

A τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. Ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορουμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκού-
B σεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἥκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέν-
C τας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. Λέγε.

14 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ,
D μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἑκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. Ὃς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν

περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε A
με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ᾐτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ
παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ
ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη·
εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν
μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἄλλων πιστεύετε (ἦλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο),
ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ
πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακο-
ήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὖηθες ᾠήθης, τοὺς περὶ B
τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς
τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο·
οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ
κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης
τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ
τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγά- 7
λας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρ-
όντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει
καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα C
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρη-
μένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν
λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν
τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου
τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν
οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά
με ἐώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὗσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐγραψάμην
καὶ διεξῇσι, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδική-
ματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με ἐώρα,
εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα D
παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρόνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον·
οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ
δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. Καὶ
μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῇσι ἢ καὶ ἄλλ'
ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἐώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ
τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι
χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατη-
γορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ
δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγ-

A ἁρμόσει λέγειν. Ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

19 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῄρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βού-
B λοιτο λέγειν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἤλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. Ὅτε γὰρ περιὼν Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο.
C Εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾐσθάνοντο, ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. Εἶτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ
D ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστήκοσι καὶ τἄλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἄλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. Οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων

δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ A
καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προσηλακίζει. Σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρ-
ελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοι-
αῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. Μέχρι τούτου
Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὄλυνθον· μέχρι
τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος
καὶ Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν.
Εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασ-
χόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. Τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος
ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπεῤῥιμμένοι;
ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν B
ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν
Αἰσχίνῃ τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ
δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτουνὶ καὶ
τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε
σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπο-
λώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν, 20
καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ'
οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς C
τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. Παρην-
ώχληθε δὲ ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὁτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν
τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. Καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν
ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων "ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν
ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί." Ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν
λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου φίλον εἰπουμ' ἂν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ
καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους
καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι
ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε D
Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι
πάντες. Εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. Μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ
τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις
ἃ λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογή- 21
σασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ
εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προ-
βεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν

A δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

22 ΓΡΑΦΗ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημο-
B σθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ'
C ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. Κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

23 Ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν παραλείψω. Τοῦ μὲν
D οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα "ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναῤῥήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον

εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. Οὕτωσὶ A
μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν
ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι.
Καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν
εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ
ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμ-
μένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων
τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ
γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. Εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς
πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε
καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ 24
προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι B
τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην
ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον,
τοσοῦτον ὑπεπτόν. Πλεονέκτημα ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα
ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ'
ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φαῦλα προδοτῶν καὶ ὠμοδόκων καὶ θεοῖς
ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς
πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ
συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν C
ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐιδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων,
καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἑνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν
ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ
καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου
κακοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἑλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ. Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν,
Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ
Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν D
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια
ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ'
ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προσοθόνειθ', ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἠδέως ἂν
ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν,
πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τυῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν
καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις,
ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεον-

A γωρίας ἀξίαν. Εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

28 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

29 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος
B ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. Καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. Πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

30 Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω σὺ
C δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχον. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

31 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιπ-
πος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων
D ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐνανάρχει Λαομέδων. Καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παρακπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοιναῖς κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. Καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο

συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. Καὶ ὑπο- A
λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι
μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί.
Διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν,
καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν
ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ
διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. Εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν 32
οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. Τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν
ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν B
ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ
εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς
Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐ-
βοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν,
καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις
ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους
ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάν-
τιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. Ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα,
ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθό- C
των ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖ-
σιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις
ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον
εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις
εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι
πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν,
πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ
Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἡδίκει μηδένα ἐξετά-
ζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ D
παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ'
ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις
αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμ-
φέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν
ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὃ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων
ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ
βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν
ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ
τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς
ἅσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναῤῥηθέντος ἐν τῷ

A δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

22 ΓΡΑΦΗ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημο-
B σθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημοσία γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ'
C ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. Κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλεών Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

23 Ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. Τοῦ μὲν
D οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα "ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναῤῥήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον

εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. Οὐτωσὶ A
μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν
ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι.
Καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν
εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ
ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμ-
μένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων
τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ
γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. Εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς
πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε
καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ 24
προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι B
τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην
ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον,
τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. Πλεονέκτημα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα
ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ'
ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς
ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδείς
πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ
συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν C
ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων,
καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἑνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν
ὄντος, κωλύειν ἑκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ
καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυρομένου
κακοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἑλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ. Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν,
Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ
Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν D
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια
ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ'
ἐώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνετ', ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν
ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν,
πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν
καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θεττάλους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις,
ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεον-

ἰδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους Ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον κηλλάχασιν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὑθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

25 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. Τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσ-
B ῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν, τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῄδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ
C ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων
D ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. Οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν. Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. Τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. Ὁμολογῶ. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἠδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα.

Καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν A
τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν
περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς
ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῇς. Οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. Ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν
Εὔβοιαν ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων
Ὠρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν
Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολι-
ορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς
φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ᾠδίκει καὶ B
παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί
τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν
ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μουσῶν λείαν καλου-
μένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ἀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθη-
ναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιειρ-
γασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα
ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. Εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων
κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε
γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτενόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν κατα-
δουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προ- C
λέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προΐεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβών, 26
οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τού-
των, τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρο- 27
μιῶνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὔβουλος Μνη-
σιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' D
αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομ-
πὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας
καταγήοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι
τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συν-
αχθῶσι καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἳ παραγενό-
μενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον
καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. Καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν
ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος
οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών,
ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλι-

A γωρίας ἀξίαν. Εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

28 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

29 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος
B ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. Καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. Πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

30 Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω σὺ
C δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχον. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

31 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιπ-
πος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ
D Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐνανάρχει Λαομέδων. Καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοιναῖς κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. Καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο

συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. Καὶ ὑπο- A
λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι
μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί.
Διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν,
καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν
ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ
διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. Εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν 32
οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. Τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν
ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν B
ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ
εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς
Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐ-
βοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν,
καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις
ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους
ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάν-
τιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. Ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα,
ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθό- C
των ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖ-
σιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις
ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον
εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις
εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι
πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν,
πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ
Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἡδίκει μηδένα ἐξετά-
ζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ D
παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ'
ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις
αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμ-
φέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν
ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων
ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ
βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν
ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ
τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς
ἅσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναῤῥηθέντος ἐν τῷ

A θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

33 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί
B τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. Εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

34 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει συμ-
C βᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾖ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. Φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

35 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ
D ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

36 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαῤῥαγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. Ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολεμεῖν

τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις A
ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα
βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρ-
κει. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς,
οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. Ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ
βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους;
ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν
πόλιν λέγω. Τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ
πράττων καὶ ἁπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς;
ἐγώ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ B
τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε
ἑνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς
νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ
ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν
ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ
μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, οἷς
ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσ- 37
πορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τὰ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν C
ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τοῖς προγεγενα-
μένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμά-
χοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας
παρέσχηται, ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακε-
δόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀνα-
στάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ
δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ
καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύ-
νων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμως
καὶ τὼς τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περιν- D
θίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς
καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν
καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέ-
λουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τᾶν λειτουργιᾶν·
στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἐκκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ,
στεφανούμενον τὸν Δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶ δάμω τῶ
Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς
ἐν τᾷ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια

καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνως ὡς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλλανες πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

38 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ. [Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ
B Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

39 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τήν
C τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι'
D ὁντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

40 Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν

κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι A
τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. Ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακε-
δαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάνα-
γραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς,
ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησα-
μένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις
ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων
μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκε-
λεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ'
ἐγγύς. Καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ B
εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων. Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα
προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας
καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς
βουλευόμενοι. Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ
βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ
δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς,
τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς
διδῷ γενναίως. Ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ'
ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ'
εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ C
μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν
ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις
ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων
ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. Καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς
ἐξαμάρτῃ, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἆλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ
σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ,
οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων
μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων
τὴν Εὔβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεο- D
δώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδικήσθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε
καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενο-
μένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. Ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων.
Καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ'
ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων
καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρ-
τηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε ὑπολογισάμενοι. Μυρία
τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους
πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν,
ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ

A σωτηρίας πεποίηται. Εἶτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

41 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευ-
B όμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. Ὁρῶν γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικου-
C μένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. Καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἐᾷν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέ-
ρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν,
D ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. Ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. Λέγε.

42 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρο-
μιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθωντίδος,

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ A
τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν
τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος·
καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ
τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας
δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον. 43

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν
τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ
εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ B
χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον. 44

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν
τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα·
ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ
τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουρ-
γία ἔστω. Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάτ-
των οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγο- C
μένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

Ἆρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μικρὰ 45
ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι;
οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ
γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν
νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. Πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλε-
μον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ
ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ'
ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων
ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὔτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, D
οὔτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀναγεσθαι. Καίτοι κατὰ
τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον,
ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα
συνέβαινεν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετ-
ήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. Καὶ
μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα
τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ
τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ

A πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. Ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἱλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

46 Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς B ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. Καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω. περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

47 Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. C τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς αὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὢν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. Ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὢν τύχῃ. Τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς D εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. Εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὢν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτόν φησιν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. Οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα. Καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τἀνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασύντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὀδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν A
δείξω. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ
τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε
τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφα-
νοῦντο· εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὤν,
ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. Σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε,
εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ
τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι
χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε
τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. B
Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μετ' 48
εἰκάδα, γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν
ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν
ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν
Ἰμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν
νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειρο-
τονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς
ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν
δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς C
καινοῖς.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυ- 49
τάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν
ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν
ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων
καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὁπλικοσίαις, δεδόχθαι
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον
χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγά- D
λοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς·
τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις,
ἀγωνοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν ὑπεύ- 50
θυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. Οὐκοῦν οὐδ'
ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις
δῆπου. Ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὧν ἔδωκα
ὑπεύθυνος. Ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν

A ἐπέδωκα. Νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε μὲ εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

51 Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. Οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. Λέγε.

52 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπι-
B σκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

53 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι·
C ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. Τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ. Ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

54 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου
D ἂν ἀναῤῥηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδίδοντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

55 ΝΟΜΟΣ. [Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς

ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους A
τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ
βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις
[ἀναγορεύεσθαι].]

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν ἐάν 56
τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω.
Τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί
σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ
φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους
μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀνα-
γιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφι- B
εῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ
δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδιδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, εἶτ'
οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ
λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολι-
τεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. Βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα ὀνομάζων,
ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.
Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατ-
ηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν
ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ
λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς C
περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. Οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προ-
γόνους ταντὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπείληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες
ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τἀπόῤῥητα λέγωμεν
ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς τι τυγ-
χάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἧττον
ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ'
ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. Ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ
ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. Πότερόν σέ
τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν D
δῆλον ὅτι. Εἶτα οὗ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς
εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὗ δ' ἐγὼ
μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ
κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε
ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἡ πλέον ἢ
ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς
δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς,
ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι 57

A δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλωσφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι; — εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ
B καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὑτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

58 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν,
C ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προῃρῆσθαι λόγους. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν
D δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ὄψὲ γάρ ποτε —, ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλανκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τοντουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις,

ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἧν A
ἐστί τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς 59
ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου B
τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπασ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην ὀφεῖναι διαφυγὼν ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προέσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε κἀκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς C
ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. [Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων 60
οἵδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην D
ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσ- 61
έταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

Ἓν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, 62
δημοῖόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμμνήσκεσθε. Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις,

A ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε
ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν
οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως
δίκαια οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα
φανερῶς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνιστα-
μένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τἀναντία ἐμαρ-
τύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

63 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον
Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν
ἐλήφθη. Καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι
B μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ
φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ'
ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

64 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. [Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλ-
λαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ
ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου
Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ
κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ
C Φιλίππου. Αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκα-
τομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου.]

65 Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω.
Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. Πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι
δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς
ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. Ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα
παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ
δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν
λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαν-
τεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως
D συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον
ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

66 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συναγωνίζεσθαι
Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; κατὰ τῆς
πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. Ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορ-
θεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἅνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισ-
βητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὅ τι μὲν
πώποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειοφάγος,
οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψή-

φισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ A
φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν.
Καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀναγκη θάτερον ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττο-
μένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ'
ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς
μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργάσασθαί 67
τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λαν-
θάνειν· ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον, ὃ
πᾶσι τοῖς πρότερος ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς B
ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν δικαίων
δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές. Τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι·
πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω
πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς θεοὺς 68
ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ
τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύ-
χομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον
καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μια-
ρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως C
ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν
ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπῆραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὐτωσὶ σφοδρῶς; 69
ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπι-
δείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας,
ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑπολιφθῇ
οὗτος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώ-
ρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.
Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε D
Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ᾑρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς
ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατα-
σκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν.
Καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλη-
σίᾳ "πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον
Ἀμφικτυονικόν" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων
με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν
ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. Ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε,

A ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὕψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

70 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν

B Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διιέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἦ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο πρισέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. Τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν

C ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ᾖ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. Οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος

D οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ᾐτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. Γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. Οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι,

Τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, A
δεῖξον. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. Περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. Ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἦγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπισῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν B
ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. Καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἦ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ῥᾴθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παριλθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπίσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, C
μάλιστα μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὴ κεφαλὴ παράξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερίως Κλειναγόρου, 71
ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ D
σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερίως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς 72
Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον

A κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κύττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

73 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. Λέγε.

B ΧΡΟΝΟΙ. [Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

74 Ὡς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. Λέγε.

75 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοπον-
C νησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν
D τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῴου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. Τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις. Εὐτυχεῖτε.]

76 Ὁρᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. Τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοιαῦτα

Τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, A
δεῖξον. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. Περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. Ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἦγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν B
ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. Καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἦ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἑλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, C
μάλιστα μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὴ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγό- 71
ρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ D
σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς 72
Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων [illegible]

A δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. Ἱιρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

79 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνυχιB ῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. Ἱιρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς C Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

80 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροD φῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. Ἔρρωσθε.

81 ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιπ-

τος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην Α
τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν
εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν
Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκατ-
αίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρότερον
μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς
ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἑπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. Νῦν
δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην
μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἑπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἤσθην καὶ μᾶλ-
λον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι
περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· Β
ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης
μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. Ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ 82
τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρί-
σεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατέλαβεν,
ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν
Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυ-
βον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγ-
καιότατα.

Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτά- 83
νεις ὡς Ἑλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς C
ἐξανεστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν
κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν,
καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτή-
ριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην
χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις
τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κἀκεῖ- D
νος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;"
παρῆν δ' οὐδείς. Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἁπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρ-
όντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς
πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος
δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. Καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν
πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες

A γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. Ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόῤῥωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ'
B ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. Ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι "τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πάροντα πράγματ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ
C οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠνύομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. Ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἕτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. Ὡς δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. Ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
D ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρ-

πος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην A
τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν
εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν
Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκατ-
αίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρότερον
μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς
ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἑπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. Νῦν
δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην
μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἑπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλ-
λον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι
περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· B
ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης
μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. Ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ 82
τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρί-
σεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν,
ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν
Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυ-
βον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγ-
καιότατα.

Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτά- 83
νεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς C
ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν
κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν,
καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτή-
ριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην
χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις
τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κἀκεῖ- D
νος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;"
παρῆει δ' οὐδείς. Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἁπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρ-
όντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς
πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος
δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. Καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν
πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες

A ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικο-
85 κλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, ἀκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ
ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ
Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι
χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας
πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς
ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι
δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς
δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδι-
κηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ
B πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας
πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει,
τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ
καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ
τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ
κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ
τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. Καὶ ἕως μὲν
πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπ-
ελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὑτὸν
C πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν
ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται
εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς
Ἕλληνας καταδουλουμένους. Διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων,
καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ
πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ
τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν
D καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευ-
σῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους
Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω
εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς
μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων
δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον
ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι
καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐσιν Ἕλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ

ὄντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας A
ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω,
καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας
Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι
τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παῤῥησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν
δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα
πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς
ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. Μετὰ ταῦτα
χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους B
κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε
καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. Ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας,
πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι
προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. Μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς
γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν,
ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ Ἐκεῖνοι
προορωμένων, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν,
καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος
ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ
κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρ- C
τάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ πεπραγ-
μένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην.
Συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον
οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν,
οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θη-
βαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον,
καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ
πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενό-
μενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην 84
τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδο- D
ρούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα
τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσ-
φόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς
ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς
ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος
ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος
ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπρατ-
τον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

A ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι." Σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. Εἰπὲ τίς ἦ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

87 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη
B παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. Ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. Εἰ δ' ὁ
C συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῷτο. Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμ-
D μάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

88 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους,

ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς A
ἐξήρκει λόγος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα,
Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τού-
των, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς
ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ
ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ
πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν
ἄλλων διειλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι
δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπο-
λογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὔθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ
ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν B
παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρω-
πος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι,
καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ
καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους
καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. Καίτοι ὅτῳ
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνενδοιαμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολω-
λέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ
ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς,
οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. Δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ
ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. Πράτ- C
τεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης.
Ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης,
ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα
λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι 89
καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. Καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρη-
σάτω. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι,
καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῤῥλεγες Αἰσχίνη καὶ διεμαρ-
τύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστα- D
τέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ
μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. Νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυγχεῖν δοκεῖ
τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῇ
θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ'
ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν
αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα αἰν-
δυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν
ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι δ' ὀφθαλ-
μοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους
ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη,

A γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. Ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόῤῥωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ'
B ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. Ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι "τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πάροντα πράγματ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ
C οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. Ὅτι μέντοι ἴν' ἕτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. Ὡς δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. Ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
D ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρ-

ὄντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας A
ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω,
καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας
Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι
τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παῤῥησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν
δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα
πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς
ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. Μετὰ ταῦτα
χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους B
κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε
καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. Ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας,
πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι
προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. Μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς
γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν,
ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ 'κεῖνοι
προορωμένων, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν,
καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος
ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ
κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρ- C
τάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ πεπραγ-
μένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην.
Συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον
οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, ὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν,
οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θη-
βαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον,
καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ
πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενό-
μενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην 84
τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδο- D
ρούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα
τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσ-
φόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς
ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς
ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος
ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος
ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

A ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικο-
85 κλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, πυροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ
ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ
Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι
χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας
πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς
ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι
δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς
δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδι-
κηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ
B πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας
πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει,
τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ
καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ
τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ
κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ
τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. Καὶ ἕως μὲν
πόλεις ἐώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπ-
ελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν
C πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν
ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται
εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς
Ἕλληνας καταδουλουμένους. Διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων,
καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ
πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ
τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν
D καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευ-
σῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους
Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω
εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς
μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων
δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον
ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι
καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ

δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. Ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. Ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίποδα καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. Συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. Πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Καθαιρίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατά- 86
στασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. Ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι ξύνκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκείνοις ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε D
φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ πρεσλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. Εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν εἴρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. Εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρελημλυθότων," οὐδὲ "τίς

A ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι." Σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκεί-
νους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν
ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. Εἰπὲ τίς ἡ λόγος,
ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη
τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει
με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;
87 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται,
καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ
μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε
τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη
B παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ
συμβάντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων
βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ
συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν
θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ
τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. Ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα
ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα
καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ
καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγ-
καῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. Εἰ δ' ὁ
C συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα
τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρη-
σάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων
ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῷτο. Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης
κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου
καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο
πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμ-
D μάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας
ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν
τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη
τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συν-
έβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι συν-
ελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν
τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε
μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι
τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.
88 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους,

ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς A
ἔξηρκει λόγος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα,
Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, δι' ἐβουλεύθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τού-
των, τότ' ἐδει προλέγειν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς
ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ
ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ
πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὕπω περὶ τῶν
ἄλλων διηλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι
δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, σὺ δὲ κίνδυνον σκήψας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπο-
λογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ
ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον αὐτὸν σαυτὸν B
παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ ἀνοσιώτατος ἄνθρω-
πος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι,
καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ
καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους
καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. Καίτοι ὅτῳ
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνενδοιαστῶς ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολω-
λέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ
ὅτῳ συνεπηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς,
οὐκ ἴνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. Δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ
ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. Πράτ- C
τεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης.
Ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνῃ,
ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα
λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι 89
καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. Καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρη-
σάτω. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι,
καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προβλεγες Αἰσχίνη καὶ διεμαρ-
τύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστα- D
τέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἰ περ ἢ ξόλης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ
μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. Νῦν μέν γε ἀπορυκεῖν δοκεῖ
τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῇ
θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ'
ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἴσχυεν
αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίν-
δυνον ὄντιν' ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν
ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι δ' ὀφθαλ-
μοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους
ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη,

A ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιη-
μένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε
χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν
κίνδυνον ἠρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρ-
βάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρό-
τερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-
σῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη
τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ
κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐᾷν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι;
B ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ'
ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ
παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ
πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη
περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν
αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα
τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. Εἰκότως·
τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ
καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριή-
C ρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν
ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν
δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον
καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ
ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ' Ἀθη-
ναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον
γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Διαφέρει δέ τι; ὅτι ὁ
D μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἱμαρ-
μένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ
πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν
ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτι-
μίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ
θανάτου.

90 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον
ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκό-
τως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. Νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας
προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ'
εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάσ-
τοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ

τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πιστεύειν ὡς A
φάβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν
τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν
χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα
ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τοὐδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε,
οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀρά-
μενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων
καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους B
τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας,
οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν,
Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατή-
σαντας μόνους. Δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἑνείμεν
ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται. Ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμμα-
τοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας
ἐμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ
ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ
δέ, ὦ τριταγωνιστά, περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει C
παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ'
ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν ἀπ-
έθανον· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
διανοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ
τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων
καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν
προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. Καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε
ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως
νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦν-
τες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις 91
ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. D
Ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίπ- 92
που καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσ-
βεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου
θρασεῖς. Ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα
ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς οἱ
πρέσβεις. Καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος
κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν,

A οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. Πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος ; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

93 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκεί-
B νους πρότερους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. Καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ἀποτέρους βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα
C καὶ τἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. Καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. Ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

94 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. Ἐξ-
D ἦτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τἀν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἓν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ

πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν A
ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν.
Ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν
ἐγνωκότες. Οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρο-
νας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς
πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ
ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε
τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. Ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ
μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι
καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ ἔγωγε ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχί- B
νην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ
πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν
ἄλλων ἐξηπάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ
ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ'
ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας
τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις
ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; C
Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ 95
δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας
δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν
ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἠφίει
φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ
τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον
ἔπεμπεν. Καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἢ ἐμὴ D
συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα,
ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥή- 96
τορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος,
Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως
οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ
πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσ-
βεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. Ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ
ἅμα μὲν ῥᾳστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. Τί οὖν;
εἶποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε
πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην

A μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. Ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. Διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

97 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη·
B ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. Ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

98 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς συλλα-
C βὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί. Καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. Καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἔδίωκεν. Διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν,
D καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἐᾷν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προῄδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. Οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. Διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ

τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, A
οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

Εἶτα συφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἥκατ' 99
ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι, ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι
περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογίζησθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ
μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου
φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. Θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς
ἔοικεν ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πεπραγμένον. Ἐκ
γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν
γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν B
ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως
περὶ ἑκατέρου. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι
ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους
(οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀνα-
μιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι
τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς
οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συν-
εμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παρα-
ταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ
τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς C
Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν
καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης
εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς
Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. Ἆρά σοι ψῆφοις ὅμοιος
ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα,
ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασ-
θαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς
καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις
πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν D
πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς
ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. Ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλό- 100
μενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν
ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα
καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς;
γέγονα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ
διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα),
ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς
ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆλθεν, καὶ

A τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

101 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δ', ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. Ὁ δὲ πάντων
B καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. Τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. Πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάντων· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν, ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς
C φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προὐτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βιβουλευμένοι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους,
D Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνῆχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι

περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων A
σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. Εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ
συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. Τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν,
ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ
ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἠβου-
λόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ
ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσ-
δεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.

Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν 102
οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ
πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν B
καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς
ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν, ἀπηλάθησαν,
βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλληνσπύντου διὰ
Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττι-
κὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἅπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν C
ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ'
ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκα-
νον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν
ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτο-
τραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ.
Τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν
λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρελημυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς
ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι
δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν
καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα
διεξίοι "εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὗτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθα-
νεν." Ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἧτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς ἐφ' ᾗ στένειν 103
σε ὦ κατάρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονῖαν D
εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. Οὑτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. Οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ',
ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον
τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ
ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν
βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ
τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ
τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκεῖν κατεστρέφετο. Ταῦτ' οὖν
ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλα-
κίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα

A τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτωσὶ
περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ,
νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς
κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ
φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. Καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο
γενέσθαι;

107 Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν Αἰσχίνῃ
προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν εὕρῃς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω
τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. Σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς
B ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ
μηδείς. Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν
ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὔτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ
σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας
καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκά-
ζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρή-
σομαι.

108 Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ προσήκοντα
διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα
δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν,
χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε
C ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς
φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν
ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφα-
νῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἃ
προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμ-
βεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς
παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι.
Σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει
πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν
D μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκα-
λείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων
καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου
παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους
ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρί-
ζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπο-
μάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρ-
μοῦ κελεύων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ τῷ
μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε
νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα,

ἀλαλύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς A
καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ
μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχού-
μενος ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττο-
φόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγο-
ρευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς
καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονί-
σειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγρά-
φης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως
τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν B
τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. Ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ
τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατῃσχυνας μὰ Δί'
οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώ-
σας αὐτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκρι-
ταῖς, Σιμύλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστευες, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς
καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς
ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκή-
ρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύ-
ματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς
δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιά- C
σαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγο-
ρήματα. Τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ
τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος
λαγὼς βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσ-
δοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν
οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὤψαι. Καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων
πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ
αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν ζείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ
τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα
μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ βεβιωμένα, 109
πρᾴως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν D
ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. Ἐδίδασκες γράμ-
ματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. Ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. Ἐγραμ-
μάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον. Ἐτριταγωνίστευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώ-
ρουν. Ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐῶ τἄλλα,
ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζο-

A μαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκο-
φάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον
μέρος τῶν ψήφων. Ἀγαθῇ γε, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τύχῃ συμβεβιω-
κὼς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

110 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελειτούρ-
γηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς
ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας

B καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες
ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.
Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

111 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς
δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρα-
C σχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ
τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα,
οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα.
Ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν
χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν
χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὸ
δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν
ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν,
οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων,
ἀρκεῖ μοι.

112 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
D εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν
ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῷος τῆς
Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγο-
νεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι
τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων
αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόν-
θασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη,
πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν

τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ A
οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχιστ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων
φροντίσας εὐθέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν
εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ
ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ
Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν
Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τοῦ-
των συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερῶς
αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς
συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάν-
τας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ προεί- 114
λετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμνημόνησεν, σημεῖον δέ· B
χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι
παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα,
καίπερ εὔφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν
εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ.
Καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ
Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταὐτὰ ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί,
καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. Τὸ δ'
αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι κἀγώ. Ἀμφότερ'
ἤδεσαν αὐτοί, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς C
τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γαρ
εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν
οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὡμολογήσατε. Τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι,
φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. Εἶτα καὶ
προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι
καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ'
ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξα-
μένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο D
δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους
τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν —· τοῦτο δ'
ἑώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. Διὰ
ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. Καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος
οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ
τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ
δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς πάρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν
τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἄλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν
παρ' ἐμοί. Εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον

A οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχεν.

115 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῇς Αἰσχίνη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

B Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ.
οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·
μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν,
ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

C Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν· οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. Τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς συῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

116 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς
D καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. Καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. Ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμ- A
πασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα
φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς
πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε
καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα κατηγο- 117
ρηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν,
ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ
τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκο- B
πεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας
ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως
τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν
ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εὕροιτ'
ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἳ ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα
καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρα-
καλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ'
αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχον-
τας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως
δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάσχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος,
Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἱερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις C
Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἠλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχ-
μος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων
καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρατος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἔλιξος
Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας
Ἵππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. Ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα
ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. Οὗτοι πάντες εἰσίν,
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν
πατρίσιν ὥνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες
καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, D
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην
αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ
κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστά- 118
σεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι προδοσίας, εἰ
δεῖ μὴ λῃρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων
καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ

Α τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ
τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ,
πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε
καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος
οὔτ' ἐλπὶς οὔτε φάβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγά-
γετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν
προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τούτοισί, ὁμοίως
ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα,
ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ
μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν καθ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς
Β πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. Διὰ ταῦτ'
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες,
καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς
γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθε-
μαι. Οὐ λίθοις ἐπείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ'
ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν
τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις
καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς
ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. Ταῦτα προὐβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ
τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τού-
Θ τοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ
τοῦ ἄστεως. Οὐδέ γ' ἠτιήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου,
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμ-
μάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. Τίνες αἱ τούτων
ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. Σκοπεῖτε δέ.

119 Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προ-
νοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολι-
τευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι
πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτο-
Δ πομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισ-
θήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν
Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως
οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυ-
δον, τὴν Εὔβοιαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν
δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει,
ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς
ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβου-
λευμένα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται
σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὑρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ

τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παριεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προ- A
εθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισ-
μὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. Εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης
ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις
ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως
ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν
κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων
ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἕνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ
ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε
τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς
ἐπέχρησ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι B
μετὰ πάσης αἰδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν
πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. Ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι
πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος
τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν 120
πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητή-
τως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμ-
βάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι C
τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακί-
ζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀπο-
στάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς
ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρί-
δος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑπο-
στάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν,
ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ
γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις.
Ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν
οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. Ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην D
οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς
ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει
μηνίς· ἔσεισθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης
τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ
δὲ τἀνθρώπινα)· εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ
τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ
συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ
ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν
οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν

A αἰσχύνην. Καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας Αἰσχίνη, εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προῃρημένης, τοὺς καιροὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. Τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν
B ἐπί γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. Τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπίστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία. Ἀλλ', ὦ
C πᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ
D λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. Ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑπακριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

121 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. Καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. Οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ;

οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ A
νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον
οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει
τῶν ταὐτά σοι προῃρημένων καὶ ζώντων. Κἀκεῖνο σκόπει.
Πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον
εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλί-
κας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν
καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράτ-
τουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν
εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προ-
αίρεσις, ἄν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινουμένων B
ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς
τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ
κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς
δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ
ταὐτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. Εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκεί-
νοις ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος
δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. Ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα
ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τἄλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιη-
τάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. Ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι C
Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καὶ τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενη-
μένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
πίας ἀπῄει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστος
ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. Καὶ σὺ πρὸς
τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλει
τῶν ἁπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. Ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ
βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινό-
μην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις
ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις D
ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε συνέβη, καὶ
οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιτάττομένοις ὑπηρετούν-
των καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων καὶ τῶν
κολακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ
τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱπποτρόφος,
ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.
Δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν
δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον
εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρω-
τείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ

A καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύ-
νασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. Ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμε-
νηκυῖαν εὑρήσετε ἁπλῶς. Ὁρᾶτε δέ. Οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ
Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ
τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων,
οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. Τὸ γὰρ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἱλό-
μην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος
θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. Οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν
τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν
B ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζό-
μενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς
πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς
τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρου-
σιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω
δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν
ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ
φασι δεῖν τηρεῖν.

122 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν,
C ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας
ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ'
ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε,
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτη-
μένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON THE

ORATION DE CORONA.

(FROM JACOBS.)

THE conclusion of the peace (Ol. 108. 2.) by which the sacred war was terminated, the devastation of Phocis justified, and the victorious sovereign of Macedon admitted into the Amphictyonic council, was followed by an outward calm, which lasted for several years. But in the minds of both parties there still lingered an uneasy feeling, which was kept alive and strengthened, on the one side by the persevering attempts of Philip to consolidate and extend his dominion, and on the other by the not unnatural mistrust exhibited by his allies, and the hope, which they avowedly cherished, of one day recovering their lost possessions. The consequence of this mutual suspicion was, that every step of the one party towards his object produced a correspondent hostile movement on the side of the other; and, as long as the slightest breath sufficed to blow the smouldering ashes into a flame, it was impossible for the king to carry out his designs on Persia[1]. Of this distrustful feeling Athens was the focus. It was never (as some of the orators pretended) the design of Philip to annihilate that state[2], but simply to weaken the influence which it undoubtedly possessed as a maritime power, situated in the very centre of the republican states of Greece. Of this intention the Athenians were fully aware, although the state of parties rendered it impossible for them to do more than retard for a time the progress of their dangerous adversary towards absolute

[1] This plan had, no doubt, been developed during the successful progress of the wars undertaken for the aggrandizement of the Macedonian empire; but the idea itself was of much older date. The enterprise of the younger Cyrus, and the success which attended the attempts of the Spartans under Agesilaus, had laid bare the intestine weakness of the Persian monarchy, and suggested a still bolder design, for the execution of which Isocrates hoped to unite the distracted states of Greece. Such a union was also desired by Philip for his own advantage, and seems to have been the object of his policy from the moment of his admission into the Amphictyonic council.

[2] When some of his counsellors, after the battle of Chæronea, advised him to destroy Athens, Philip replied, "It would be a senseless proceeding for a man who, like myself, has done all and suffered all for honour's sake, to demolish the theatre of his renown." (Plutarch, T. ii. p. 178 A.) His whole conduct was in accordance with this sentiment.

dominion. Whilst we admire the unwearied political activity with which Demosthenes, in his speeches as well as by embassies, opposed the encroachments of Philip during this period, we cannot but mourn over the inevitable result of these exertions, the fatal catastrophe, which in a single day decided the fate of Greece—a fate precipitated, perhaps, by the very means which were intended to avert it[3].

Philip had, it is true, been forced to give up his plans of conquest on the shores of the Bosporus, and his garrisons had been driven out of Eubœa—both of these successes were the work of Athens, and for both she was indebted to Demosthenes: a new peace had been concluded[4], and Philip, after a short campaign against the barbarians of the North, seemed to have settled quietly down within his own dominions, when a fresh Sacred War (Ol. 110. 2.), instigated, perhaps, by himself, placed him in command of an Amphictyonic army, and brought him a second time into the interior of Greece. As head of the confederation, and avenger of the sacrilege committed on the plain of Cirrha, the king of Macedon entered Locris by the passes of Pylæ, and unexpectedly took possession of Elatéa. At this crisis Athens was not wanting to herself: but notwithstanding the alliance which the eloquence and promptitude of Demosthenes enabled her to form with Thebes and other cities, and the fortunate result of two engagements, the fate of the confederation was decided in one disastrous battle[5], which annihilated the political supremacy, as well as the ancient liberties, of Greece[6]. Of the Athenians, more than a thousand men were slain, and the number of prisoners must have been at least two thousand[7]. The inhabitants of Athens were filled with consternation; for all supposed that Philip's next movement would be the invasion of Attica. Plans for strengthening the fortifications of the city were adopted and carried into effect with alacrity, and stringent regulations were at the same time enacted for the better defence

[3] Polybius (xvii. 14. 13.) says that to the obstinacy with which the Athenians opposed Philip must be attributed their severest misfortunes, and the defeat at Chæronea.

[4] Whilst Philip (Ol. 110. 1.) was besieging Selymbria and Perinthus, Demosthenes proposed to the Athenians to declare war against him, and fit out ships for an attack by sea. (Philochorus ap. Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Ammac. c ii. t. vi. p. 471. Philochori Fragm. ed. Sibelis, p 75. comp. Diodorus 16. 77.) A force was in fact sent out under the command of Chares, but was not admitted by the besieged. Another under Phocion was more successful (Plutarch, Vit. Phocion. c. 14.), and in the following year a new peace was concluded. (Ol. 110. 2.)

[5] Olymp. 110. 3. on the seventh of the month Metageitniôn, a day marked by the Greeks as unfortunate, on account of several disastrous battles.

[6] Hic dies universæ Græciæ et gloriam dominationis et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. ix. 4. We shall cease to wonder at the effect of this single battle, if we remember how enfeebled Greece was by faction. The battle of Chæronea was in truth only the last link in the chain which she had been forging for herself during a long course of years.

[7] These are the numbers given by the orator Lycurgus in Diodor. 16. 88. where a remarkable passage is preserved from the oration against Lysicles, who, with Chares, was charged with being the cause of this disaster. "Where," said Philip, "is now the haughtiness; where the superiority of Athens?" To which Demades replied, "You would have found out our strength, if Philip had led the Athenians, and Chares the Macedonians." Stobæus, Florileg. Tit. 54. 47. p. 365.

of their walls [8]. But, as far as Athens was concerned, their apprehensions were for the present unfounded [9]; for Philip not only abstained from crossing the frontier, but even gave up the bodies of the slain, and released all the Athenian prisoners without ransom; retaining, however, the Chersonesus, and all the other foreign possessions of Athens, except Oropus. On Thebes a more severe punishment was inflicted for the part which she had borne in the war. With the independence of Greece seemed to perish the very foundation of that glory which Demosthenes had acquired in her defence. The friends of Macedonian supremacy vied with one another in their endeavours to degrade him; accusation followed accusation; and the very peace which Athens had concluded with the king prepared the way for a declaration of war against Demosthenes. But the commonalty of Athens were too generous to condemn their greatest statesman on the mere representation of his enemies [1]. In every struggle Demosthenes was triumphant; and the commission which he received to deliver the funeral oration over the ashes of those who had fallen at Chæronea is a sufficient proof that the people did not attribute the disaster of that fatal day to any misconduct on his part. About the same time, a few months after the battle of Chæronea, and probably before the nomination of Demosthenes to this important duty (See Winiewski, Comm. Hist. p. 269), it was proposed by Ctesiphôn that the orator should be presented with a crown, as an acknowledgment of the services which he had rendered to the state in strengthening the fortifications of Athens at his own expense, as well as of the good-will which he had ever

[8] See Lycurgus, Or. c.; Leocrat. c. 8. p. 150, and c. 11. p. 152. Pseudo-Demosthenes c. Aristog. p. 803. Pinzger, Introduct. to the Oration of Lycurgus, p. 35. Many a faint-hearted citizen saw in imagination the army of Philip within the walls of Athens; like Leocrates, who fled to Rhodes, and informed the inhabitants that the city was in the hands of the Macedonians, and the Piræus blockaded. Lycurgus.

[9] Polybius justly observes (V. 10) "The advantages which Philip gained after the victory of Chæronea were the result of his kindness and forbearance towards the vanquished Athenians. His generous policy in releasing the prisoners without ransom, burying the dead, and delivering over their ashes to Antipater, and even clothing most of his prisoners before he sent them back, made friends and allies of those who had before been his enemies." The same author makes the Ætolian ambassador say of Philip, "The moderation of Philip after the victory of Chæronea must be attributed, not so much to his kindly feelings towards the Athenians, as to the hope which he entertained that other nations, when they witnessed these generous acts, would voluntarily obey his commands." (ix. 28.) Against this conduct of Philip, whether it were the result of generosity or ambition, we must in fairness set the accounts which Demosthenes gives in several of his orations of his ferocity and unpitying severity. Long after this period (Ol. 173. 3.) Athens learnt by sad experience how terrible is the wrath of an implacable conqueror. See Plutarch, Vit. Syll. c. 14.

[1] Niebuhr (Kleine Schriften, p. 480) considers Demosthenes worthy of the highest praise for the manner in which he trained the Athenian people. "Among those of the elder citizens who were susceptible of improvement, a new spirit was created, whilst, at the same time, a younger generation was springing up, which was entirely guided by the instructions of Demosthenes. Hence the Athenians of the 110th Olympiad occupied a far higher moral position than those of the 106th." That the minds of the people were in a state of the highest excitement during that eventful year, and that the feeling thus aroused was directed into a noble channel, none will deny; but the effect was not permanent.

manifested towards his fellow-citizens; and that public notice of the honour thus conferred on him should be given at the Greater Dionysia.

It is very probable that his object in making this proposal was to afford Demosthenes an opportunity (during the discussion which was sure to arise) of justifying his political conduct, and thus for ever closing the mouths of his accusers. The other services of the orator were therefore mentioned, as well as the act of liberality for which the reward was claimed[2]. The Macedonian party were not slow to perceive, that a public approval of the political principles and administration of their adversary was tantamount to a condemnation of their own proceedings, and accordingly they resolved to offer the most determined opposition to the motion of Ctesiphôn. At the head of this party was the second orator of Athens, whose feelings of hostility to Demosthenes were aggravated by the recollection of many former quarrels. A few days before the commencement of the Dionysian festival, and eight months after the battle of Chæronea, Æschines entered a protest against the proposed measure, on the ground of its illegality in more than one point of view; but the question was not brought before the judges until eight years afterwards[3]. What the cause of this delay was, and why proceedings were resumed at this particular time[4], must be mere matter of conjecture, as we possess no historical evidence on the subject.

[2] For an account of the presentation of golden crowns to meritorious citizens, see Boeckh's "Economy of Athens," i. p. 265; Wachsmuth's "Grecian Antiquities," I. 2. p. 35.

[3] The testimony of Dionysius Halicarn. to this fact (Epist. ad Amm. p. 746) is exceedingly clear and precise. "This oration (de Coronâ) the only one delivered by Demosthenes before a court of justice after the termination of the war, was spoken in the archonship of Aristophon (Ol. 112, 3.), in the eighth year after the battle of Chæronea, in the sixth after the death of Philip, and about the time of the battle of Arbela." Consequently Plutarch is mistaken when he supposes that the trial took place in the *tenth* year after the battle of Chæronea.

[4] Not long before the greater Dionysia. Æschines (Or. c. Ctesiph. c. 86, p. 89. 42 = 645.) says, "before the Pythian games." These games were celebrated a short time before the Dionysia. The condition of Greece, and of Athens more particularly, after the death of Philip, may be best learned from the defence of Demades (Orat. Græc. vol. iv. p. 179), "None remained," says the orator, "but ourselves and the Lacedæmonians; and even we were destitute of money, arms, and soldiers,—of every thing, in short, but a hearty good-will. The staff of Lacedæmon had been broken on the plains of Leuctra; and the banks of the Eurotas, which had never before been trodden by the foot of an enemy, now echoed back the clang of the Bœotian trumpet. War had dried up the resources of our country, and the hopes of the living drooped and withered over the ashes of the dead. Thebes was occupied by a Macedonian garrison, whose presence bound the hands of its citizens, as well as their tongues, in chains of iron; for the manhood of the Theban soldier had been buried in the grave of Epaminondas. On the other hand, the Macedonians were full of vigour and energy, and fortune had placed within their grasp the sceptre and the treasures of the Persian empire. Then Demosthenes insisted on war, but little attention was paid to his advice, fair as it sounded. And when the war was now approaching the confines of Attica, and the whole population of the country were crowded within the walls of one city, and oxen and sheep occupied the dwellings of man, and hope seemed well-nigh extinct, then I came forward and recommended peace;—and herein, as I conceive, I did the state good service."

In the second year after his victory, and in the midst of his preparations for the Persian war, the conduct of which had been intrusted to him by the congress of Corinth, Philip fell by the hand of an assassin (Ol. 111. 1.). His successor, after suppressing several insurrectionary movements, and inflicting a terrible punishment on Thebes, had marched into Persia, where victory after victory bore testimony to the irresistible valour of his troops, whilst in Greece the cities still groaned under the tyranny of Macedonian garrisons. But the smouldering embers of ancient hatred were again blown into a flame, which burst out in Peloponnesus, where Agis, king of Sparta, gave the signal of revolt[5], and was joined by all the states of the Peninsula except Megalopolis. The appearance, however, of Antipater soon put an end to the insurrection (Ol. 112. 3.). In this movement Athens took no part, notwithstanding the exhortations of Demosthenes[6]. About the same time Æschines revived his plea against Ctesiphon; less, perhaps, with any political object than for the sake of gratifying his long-cherished hatred of his mighty rival. In the third year of the 112th Olympiad, he delivered the celebrated oration, which was to brand the name of his rival with everlasting infamy, in presence of a large assemblage, attracted partly by the festival and partly by the reputation of the orators[7], the most renowned, not only of that period, but of all antiquity. But Æschines grievously deceived himself; for that which was intended to overwhelm his rival with disgrace served only to establish his fame, and at the same time to vindicate the character of the city itself. For, in passing judgement on Ctesiphon, they were in effect pronouncing an opinion on the line of policy which they had pursued under the administration of Demosthenes. When, therefore, Demosthenes, in defending Ctesiphon and his proposal, in order to establish beyond a doubt the noble and disinterested character of his policy, displayed the picture of his whole life before the eyes of his auditory, the remembrance of Athens in her best days forced itself on the minds of the judges; and neither the recent nor the earlier victories of their Macedonian oppressors, nor the brilliant eloquence of the accuser, were sufficiently powerful to secure a triumph for the principles of slavish obedience. The proposal of Ctesiphon was adopted; and Æschines, being condemned by a majority of voices, quitted Athens never to return[8].

Demosthenes lived seven years after this triumph; but it was a

[5] Diodor. 17. 62. Dinarchus, Orat. against Demosthenes, p. 94. 30, where the name of "Agis" is an interpolation.

[6] "At this time," says Plutarch (Vit. Demosth. c. 24), "Demosthenes bestirred himself, and, as it was asserted by his enemy Dinarchus, suborned newsmongers, and carried about letters which he had written to himself."

[7] Æschines, Or. c. Ctes c. 15. p. 61, 33 = 444. Cicero de Opt. Gen. Orat. c. 7. Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?

[8] Æschines passed the rest of his life in Ionia and Rhodes, where he gave lessons in rhetoric. Plutarch, Vit. Demosth. c. 24. Cicero de Orat. 3. 56. relates the story of Æschines astonishing his Rhodian pupils by reading to them his own oration and that of Demosthenes. "What would you have thought," said the orator, "if you had heard Demosthenes himself deliver his speech?" The same story is related, among others, by Pliny, ii. 3. where the words (perhaps an interpolation) are to this effect

stormy time, and terminated at last in his own banishment, in consequence of charges brought against him by Harpalus (Ol. 114. 1.). It was the will of fate, that the glorious struggle against Macedonian tyranny, to which he had dedicated the greater part of his life, should shed its lustre on the evening of his days, and that Demosthenes should die in the temple of Poseidôn, a victim on the altar of freedom (Ol. 114. 3.). Athens honoured the memory of her champion with a statue of bronze, and other marks of respect, which were inherited by his descendants[9]. Pausanias saw his monument (ii. 33. 2.) within the precincts of the temple at Calauria, where he had fallen by his own hand.

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The fortunate circumstance of our possessing the speech of the complainant, as well as the reply of Demosthenes, enables us, by comparing the one with the other, to form a more accurate idea of the consummate skill with which Demosthenes framed his defence. With this view, we will give a short analysis of Æschines's speech, distinguishing especially those particulars to which allusion is made in the reply of his rival.

To begin with the Act of Accusation:

Ctesiphon has violated the law: 1. by proposing that a reward should be given to a man who has not yet rendered an account of his administration. (Demosthenes was still president of the commission appointed for rebuilding the walls, and had rendered no account of the monies received for that purpose): 2. by requiring that the vote conferring a crown on Demosthenes should be published in the theatre at the Great Dionysia: 3. inasmuch as the proposal itself is based on an untruth, Demosthenes having in no respect benefited the state[1].

τίδέ; εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου τὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα βοῶντος ἀκηκόειτε. From this expression Jenisch (in his parallel between Demosthenes and Cicero, p. 118, a book written in a style that is any thing but that of a reader and admirer of the ancients) concludes, "In Demosthenes the whole force of his intellectual organization was re-produced and re-echoed, as it were, by his physical organ." And again, at page 119, that "reproach and admonition were hurled, *like a volley of stones*, out of the mouth of Demosthenes, against the deaf ears and hard hearts of the depraved Athenians." The anecdote related by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators (Plutarch, t. ii. p. 845, E.) respecting the magnanimity of Demosthenes towards his banished rival, has very much the air of a fable.

[9] Plutarch, Vit. Demosth. c. 30. Similar honours were conferred by his fellow-citizens on Lycurgus, next to Demosthenes the most distinguished opponent of the Macedonian party. See Plutarch, t. ii. p. 843. conf. Pausanias, i. 8. 2.

[1] Cicero de Opt. Gen. Orat. c. 7. Quum esset lex Athenis, NE QUIS POPULISCITUM FACERET, UT QUISQUAM CORONA DONARETUR IN MAGISTRATU PRIUS QUAM RATIONES RETULISSET: et altera lex: EOS, QUI A POPULO DONARENTUR, IN CONCIONE DONARI DEBERE: QUI A SENATU, IN SENATU: Demosthenes curator muris reficiendis fuit, eosque refecit pecunia sua. De hoc igitur Ctesiphon scitum fecit, nullis ab ipso rationibus relatis, ut corona aurea donaretur, eaque donatio fieret in theatro, populo convocato; qui locus non est concionis legitimæ, atque ita prædicaretur: EUM DONARI VIRTUTIS ERGO BENEVOLENTIÆQUE, QUAM ERGO POPULUM ATHENIENSEM HABERET. Hunc igitur Ctesiphontem in judicium adduxit Æschines, quod contra leges scripsisset ut et rationibus non relatis corona donaretur, et ut in theatro, et quod de virtute ejus et benevolentia falsa scripsisset; quoniam Demosthenes nec vir bonus esset, nec bene meritus de civitate.

Æschines begins his speech by reminding the judges of the duty, to which they are solemnly pledged, of upholding the laws of the state, as the groundwork of their democratic constitution, and then proceeds to establish the first point of his case by a reference to the statutes which expressly require, that even those who have received no grant from the public exchequer, should render an account of their administration. With regard to the second point—the place where the proclamation was to be made, he argues that, when a crown is voted to any citizen by the Senate, the law requires that proclamation should be made at the senate-house; when by the people, that it should be made in the general assembly; but that such proclamation should never take place in the theatre, during the representation of the new tragedies, as Ctesiphon illegally proposes. The third question is argued at greater length than either of the others[2]. To prove his assertion, that the proposal of Ctesiphon was founded on an untruth, and consequently illegal, he subjects the life of Demosthenes to a rigid scrutiny. After speaking of his family, and giving a brief sketch of his boyhood and youth, he divides his public life into four periods, and endeavours to prove, from the history of each of them, that the administration of his rival, so far from being beneficial, had always been injurious to the state. To begin with the peace which Demosthenes and Philocrates had negotiated with Philip, he contends that the chief part in that negotiation was borne by Demosthenes, who flattered the king in the most shameless manner, and, inasmuch as he had purposely precipitated the conclusion of peace, had sacrificed therein Kersobleptes, and others. He, who wished to pass for an enemy of the court of Macedon, had been a member of two embassies to that court; and, when the ambassadors of the king visited Athens, he had entertained them in the most preposterous style. Notwithstanding, however, these demonstrations of friendship, he had afterwards manifested the most indecent joy at the death of Philip.

In the SECOND period of his public career, Demosthenes changed his political opinions, inasmuch as after his return from his second embassy, having quarrelled with Philocrates on purely selfish grounds, he had, in order to ruin him, accused his colleagues of fraud. From that time he had done his best to produce war and confusion, and had brought on Athens all the misfortunes which had befallen her in the war; for the very alliances of which he made such boast, had been a means, indeed, of gratifying his own rapacity and love of intrigue, but had invariably proved injurious to the state.

In the THIRD period he had brought misfortune on Athens by the desecration of the temple at Delphi, and the conclusion of an unrighteous league with Thebes. The sacrilegious Amphissæans he had taken under his protection for money; and to this recklessness

[2] Cicero de Opt. Gen. Orat. c. 7. is right in stating that the real object of Æschines was, ut ulciscendi inimici caussa, nomine Ctesiphontis, judicium fieret de factis famaque Demosthenis. Non enim tam multa dixit de rationibus non relatis, quam de eo, quod civis improbus ut optimus laudatus esset.

must be attributed the ruin of every one with whom he was at any time connected. It was his fault, moreover, that the command-in-chief in this war against the Amphissæans was not given (as it would have been but for him) to the Athenians, but to Philip. If other nations were punished for their sacrileges, Athens was brought so low under the administration of Demosthenes, that the struggle was no longer for the Hegemony, but for the very possession of her own territory. The alliance with Thebes was not, as Demosthenes pretended, the result of his eloquence, but of necessity: but it was through his influence that the whole of Bœotia was unjustly subjected to Thebes, and that, in the apportionment of the expenses incurred in the war, Thebes was favoured and Athens overreached. The only Athenian who derived any benefit from this arrangement was Demosthenes himself, who was bribed. This alliance was the occasion of many misfortunes to Thebes, and of that disastrous war, undertaken in defiance of warnings, which cost so many brave men their lives, and made orphans of so many children; and yet this man dared to pronounce a panegyric over the graves of his victims. Such, however, has been the influence of his evil genius, that neither state nor individual has ever prospered with Demosthenes for its counsellor[3].

Passing on to the FOURTH period, Æschines censures all that Demosthenes had done, beginning with his flight from the field of battle; again reproaches him with his indecorous conduct on the occasion of Philip's death, as well as his behaviour towards Alexander, whom he secretly flattered, and consequently neglected to avail himself of the opportunities which Alexander's position afforded him of benefiting the state. The orator then condemns certain coarse and vulgar expressions which Demosthenes had employed, draws an imaginary picture of the true friend of the people, and compares it with the life of his rival, for the purpose of showing the dissimilarity of every feature. He reproaches him with his illegitimate birth, his avarice, his openness to bribery, and his cowardice; and after comparing him with the greatest men of antiquity, who had never obtained a crown or any other personal distinction, he condemns the abuse of such distinctions generally, and speaks especially of the danger to the state which such illegal proposals as the present are fraught with. In the last division of his speech, Æschines considers, in the first place, the culpable abuses which had crept into the pleadings against persons charged with violation of the laws; and, repeating the order in which his charges were arranged, he insists on the same order being strictly observed by the defendant's advocate, so that the real question at issue might not be lost sight of amidst the digressions of Demosthenes. Then he refutes, by anticipation, the arguments of his opponent, and alludes to the charges which would be brought forward against himself, especially that of having so long deferred the prosecution. In conclusion, he shows how disgraceful it would be for the state to bestow public honours on the author of

[3] The same charge was brought against Demosthenes many years afterwards, by Dinarchus. See Orat. Gr. vol. iv. p. 91. 34 = 9.

all its calamities, since the very grounds on which a reward was claimed for him were closely connected with his miscarriages; how unfair it would be towards those who had received the same rewards for actual services, and how prejudicial to the morality of the Athenian youth[4]. After recapitulating his charges, and reminding them of the punishments which in other days had been inflicted on offences far less atrocious than those of which Demosthenes was accused, he concludes by calling on the judges to be mindful of their ancient laws, and of those who had framed them, and never to forget those who, at Marathon and Salamis, had fought to the death against the same enemies with whom Demosthenes afterwards formed an alliance.

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No one could doubt the object of this accusation. Ctesiphon's proposal and name were merely a pretext, the whole force of the attack being directed against Demosthenes himself. Consequently the greater part of his reply, after a brief notice of the charges against the defendant, is devoted to his own exculpation. Æschines, in his speech, had considered one by one the proposals of Ctesiphon, and, naturally enough, had placed first in order those points on which the law, as he supposed, was clear, hoping by this means to prepare the minds of his judges for a favorable reception of his third charge, on which a difference of opinion might reasonably be expected. The same order he required Demosthenes to observe in the defence. But this the orator peremptorily refused. Insisting on his right of conducting the defence according to his own discretion, he begins with his strongest point, and endeavours, by an enumeration of the services which he had rendered to the state, to prove the falsehood of his adversary's charge, and thus at the outset to create a prejudice against him in the minds of the judges. Then he attempts the justification of Ctesiphon with reference to the two first particulars of the accusation, and after a short digression, in which he attacks the public and private life of the complainant, returns to the defence of his own political conduct[5].

In thus commencing and concluding with the strongest points, he

[4] Two things contributed to the formation of character in the Athenian youth,—the punishment of offenders, and the rewards bestowed on the brave. Lycurg. Or. c. Lever. p. 149. 8.

[5] The arguments of Demosthenes on the first point are certainly open to the charge of sophistry. He admits in its fullest extent his obligation to render an account of his administration, but then he contends that the charge of Æschines has nothing whatever to do with the sums received from the state, of which he was bound to give an account, but that it refers exclusively to the advances made out of his own resources. Whether these sums were actually expended could only be ascertained from a statement of the whole account; and it was clearly illegal for a public officer to claim a reward until he had laid down his office and rendered an account. The affair certainly assumed a different aspect before the conclusion of the proceedings. Demosthenes had resigned his office of building commissioner; his accounts had undoubtedly been audited: and now, at the end of eight years, there could be no question about the sums advanced by him. But the matter was altogether different at the commencement of the proceedings. With regard to the SECOND point, Demosthenes could only prove that such coronation had often taken place without opposition at the Dionysia, not that they were in accordance with the laws.

imitates, according to Libanius[6], the example of a skilful general, who places his feeblest troops in the centre of the strongest and most courageous. There is no doubt that he had the best case, and that it was acknowledged at Athens to be the best; for, whatever difference of opinion there might have existed respecting particular measures (and we know that Æschines did not stand alone in his opposition), it is certain that the feeling of his countrymen was, in the main, on the side of Demosthenes. The days, it is true, were gone by, when Athens exercised almost unlimited control over her numerous allies, when foreign tributes filled the treasure-chamber of the Acropolis, and the wide sea was traversed almost without hindrance by her ships. (Thucyd. ii. 62.) A few miserable remnants of her former colonial power, separated from one another by wide intervals, and connected with Athens by feeble and rotten ties, were all that she now possessed; but the love of freedom glowed in every breast as warmly as in her best days, and was nourished by the ever-fresh remembrance of her ancient glories. Even among the friends of Macedonian influence, there never existed a doubt that to the city of Minerva belonged of right the sovereignty over other states: the brightness of her star might be obscured by passing clouds, but could not be extinguished; nor would her citizens ever endure the thought of submission to an enemy, and that enemy, not even of Hellenic race. Such sentiments as these were for a series of years the key-note of the speeches of Demosthenes; from them were drawn all his warnings: and now, when his prophecies of woe were at last fulfilled, when the Macedonian mercenary acted the master in the cities of Greece, and Greek troops were incorporated into Macedonian armies, the conviction was forced, even on those who had before doubted, that Demosthenes had predicted truly, and counselled wisely; and that there was once a time, when, if they had followed his advice, they might have burst the meshes of that net, in which the wiles of the Macedonian and his mercenaries had entangled Hellas. When every one of his hearers was imbued with such feelings as these, we cannot doubt that their hearts were with Demosthenes, as, warming gradually with his subject, he related, at first in measured language, and then with all the vehemence of impassioned eloquence[7], the story of his services in the cause of Athens. It is true, that the whole of this portion of his speech was a lengthened panegyric on himself; but this, in the minds of his hearers, would be justified by the necessity of the occasion, for he was called on to defend against the most

[6] Libanius, Argum. Orat. pro Corona, p. 224: *τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τόν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέῤῥιψε στρατηγικῶς—κακοὺς δ' εἰς μέσον ἐλάσσας—τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς.*—Quintil. Inst. Or. vii, 1. 2. Sed meminerimus ipsam dispositionem plerumque utilitate mutari.—Cujus rei ut cætera exempla præteream, Demosthenes quoque atque Æschines possunt esse documento, in judicio Ctesiphontis diversum secuti ordinem, quum accusator a jure, quo videbatur potentior, cœperit, patronus omnia, vel pœne omnia, ante jus posuerit, quibus judicem quæstioni legum præpararet. Aliud enim alii docere prius expedit.

[7] Cicero, Orat. § 8. Demosthenes—in illa pro Ctesiphonte oratione longe optima, submissius à primo, deinde, dum de legibus disputat, pressius, post sensim incedens, judices ut vidit ardentes, in reliquis exultavit ardentius.

virulent attacks the policy of a whole life spent in the service of his country. It is well observed by Plutarch (t. ii. p. 540, D.) in reference to this brilliant specimen of self-commendation, that "a man who is called on to defend himself against the most calumnious accusations, may speak of his own deserts, provided he adhere strictly to truth, without incurring the charge of boastfulness. In such a case the hearer is inoculated with a portion of the orator's proud self-confidence, exults in his courage, and becomes himself a witness rather than a judge[8]." With equal justice the same writer remarks (t. ii. p. 542, A.), "With what admirable tact does Demosthenes interweave the praises of his auditors with praises of himself; and how completely does he disarm envy by ascribing all his success to the gods and to the good genius of Athens, claiming credit only for honesty of intention, and inaccessibility to bribery!"

Offence has been given to many modern readers, by the immoderate violence of his attacks on Æschines, but we think without sufficient reason: for, not to speak of the custom which at that time universally prevailed, both in the orator's tribune and on the stage (although much stress might be laid on this argument), we must remember that every circumstance of the private as well as public life of Demosthenes was set up as a mark for the envenomed shafts of his adversary's malice, and that he was treated with a degree of contemptuous depreciation which would have roused the anger even of the most patient. The object, indeed, of the plaintiff, throughout the whole of his speech, was to run down the character of Demosthenes, and bring all the actions of his life into contempt[9]. Could it then be expected that Demosthenes would spare an opponent whom he believed to be, not only his own personal adversary, but the enemy also of his country, and a cowardly traitor? We cannot, however, deny that the reader is often surprised and annoyed at the frequent and startling discrepancies between the two speeches. Each endeavours to fix on the other

[8] Demosthenes, like Pericles, whom he resembled in many respects, might say of himself, that "he was second to no man, either in the discernment of what was necessary, or in promptitude of action, or in love to his fatherland, or in disinterestedness." Thucydides, ii. 60.

[9] This endeavour on the part of Æschines to bring the character of his illustrious rival into contempt is discoverable in all his speeches. Of his eloquence he often speaks in the most disparaging terms (e. g. Or. c. Timarch. c. 48. p. 134.—de falsa Legat. c. 31. p. 283.) His oration against Timarchus (delivered Ol. 108. 3.) breathes throughout a spirit of contemptuous bitterness towards Demosthenes; charges him with every sort of effeminacy; speaks of him as an ignorant and vulgar babbler, who only dared to assail such a man as Philip, because he was no man himself; accuses him of having first squandered his own substance, and then cheated wealthy striplings out of theirs. In his oration "de Legatione" (c. 44. p. 317), he describes him as a perjured cheat, who never by any chance speaks the truth, unless it be for his own interest, and offers to forfeit his existence if a single vice can be found of which he cannot prove Demosthenes is a distinguished professor. All this confirms the truth of Passow's remarks (Encyclop. Part. ii. p. 75. Art. ÆSCHINES) that "each of these distinguished orators viewed the other with distrust; and with the growth of their political animosity their personal hatred grew and strengthened; for each longed to annihilate his rival, whose very existence was interwoven with his political system. It is probable, also, that professional rivalry produced no small feeling of bitterness in the minds of men whose oratorical talents were so nearly equal in degree, yet so different in character."

the most disgraceful charges: illegitimacy of birth, unblushing corruption, treason, and every vice that can dishonour a man, is the portion of his adversary; his own heart is the dwelling-place of every virtue —a temple in which is enshrined the purest patriotism. The very same facts assume a totally different form, as they are related by the one or the other of the rival orators; and yet both of them, with equal audacity, call—now on single witnesses—now on the whole nation—to bear witness to the truth of their statements; they appeal to the archives and mutually charge each other with mis-quotation, and every other sort of dishonesty. There is, in fact, no safe standard to which their assertions can be referred; and we are at last compelled, not without a blush, to acknowledge, that in ancient, no less than in modern times, the effrontery of orators has combined with the credulity of their auditors to give currency to falsifications, which shake our belief in the existence of historical certainty[1].

If it be asked, wherein consists the inferiority of the plaintiff's speech, as compared with that of his rival? we reply, that it is not (as Jenisch supposes[2]) "in the want of freedom perceptible in the choice and arrangement of his arguments," nor "in the eagerness with which he seizes every opportunity of blackening the character of his opponent" (for to this charge Demosthenes must also plead guilty); but it is inferior because Demosthenes occupied higher ground than Æschines, on account of the noble disinterestedness with which, throughout the whole course of his public life, he had laboured for the benefit of the commonwealth. And this superiority it was, which imparted to his oratory a richness and a force, before which his rival, with all his rhetorical skill, and all his eloquence, was obliged to quail[3].

Every thing relating to Æschines seems poor and tame, when placed side by side with the glorious picture which Demosthenes draws of his own public life; and the equivocal position which the former occupied as a statesman, places even the most brilliant passages of his political career in so suspicious a light, as to oblige him more than once to exchange the character of a prosecutor for that of a defendant.

[1] When we remember the power of party spirit over men's minds in disturbed times, we can easily conceive two speakers, in the heat of debate, giving different versions of a story, without any deliberate intention on the part of either of them to mislead his audience. Party spirit is like a defective mirrour, which cannot reflect a single object without altering its form and colour. With a choice of traditions before him, each adopts that which is most favorable to himself and his party, with no guide in his search after truth but his own wishes and prepossessions. When two parties are engaged in eager conflict, one or the other of them is often tempted to employ envenomed shafts for the destruction of his adversary, and to invent facts where the truth is not available for his purpose. The great triumph of art is to give to falsehood the appearance of truth.

[2] Jenisch, Parallel between Demosthenes and Cicero. Berlin, 1801, 8. p. 58.

[3] The union in Æschines of the rarest, and, to a certain extent, the most opposite rhetorical qualities, would perhaps have placed him on a level with Demosthenes, had he possessed the unshrinking patriotism, the magnanimity worthy of a tragic hero, which we so much admire in Demosthenes, and without which eloquence becomes mere sophistry. Passow in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopæd. Part ii. p. 78.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Olymp.	Before Christ.	
98, 4	385	Demosthenes born. (According to Pseudo-Plutarch, Vit. x. Orat. According to Dionys. Halicar. Ep. ad Amm. Ol. 99, 4. See Boeckh's Public Ec. of Athens, Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1816, 1819, Appendix to Clinton's Fasti Hellenici. Vol. i. p. 348.)
99, 2	383	Philip born. The Lacedæmonians, during a war with Olynthus, occupy the Cadmea.
99, 3	382	Demosthenes, in his seventh year, loses his father. (Orat. c. Aphob. 1.) According to the other reckoning, this happened Ol. 101, 1.
100, 2	379	The Lacedæmonians expelled from the Cadmea. Death of the orator Lysias.
100, 3	378	Establishment of the Symmoriæ on a different footing. See Boeckh, 2 vol.
100, 1	376	Chabrias defeats the Lacedæmonians off Naxos. Phocion, at that time a youth, takes part in the engagement.
101, 2	375	Timotheus defeats the Lacedæmonians off Leucas.
101, 3	374	Platæa and Thespiæ destroyed by the Thebans. The inhabitants find an asylum at Athens.
102, 2	371	Battle of Leuctra. Megalopolis, in Arcadia, founded.
102, 3	370	Jason, of Pheræ, assassinated.
102, 4	369	The Thebans invade Laconia. Messenè restored. Athens concludes a peace with Lacedæmon.
103, 1	368	The Thebans again enter the Peloponnesus. The Persians endeavour to act as mediators. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. vii. 1. 27.
103, 2	367	Archidamus gains a bloodless victory over the Arcadians. Xen. l. cit. Diodor. xv. 72. Pelopidas sent as ambassador to Persia. Dionysius the Elder dies after a reign of thirty-eight years. Diodor. xv. 73.

Olymp.	Before Christ.	
103. 3	366	The Thebans, a third time, invade Peloponnesus.
		Orōpus taken from the Athenians.
		War between the Eleans and Arcadians.
		Athens forms an alliance with the Arcadians. Xen. Hist. Græc. vii. 4. 2.
		Corinth concludes a peace with Thebes. vii. 4. 10.
		Demosthenes declared of age. Brings an action against his guardians. Or. c. Onet.
104. 1	364	Battle of Olympia. Xen. Hell. vii. 4. 29.
		Timotheus takes Potidæa.
104. 3	362	Fourth campaign of the Thebans in Peloponnesus.
		Battle of Mantinea. Death of Epaminondas.
		Artaxerxes Ochus ascends the Persian throne. Revolt of certain satraps.
104. 4	361	General peace, with the exception of the Lacedæmonians.
		The independence of Messênê recognized.
105. 1	360	Failure of an attempt of Timotheus to take Amphipolis, which is in the hands of the Olynthians.
		Athenian embassy to Thrace. Demosth. Orat. c. Aristocr.
105. 2	359	Cotys slain by Python, and Thrace divided among three kings. Or. c. Aristocr.
		Philip, after the death of the two elder sons of Amyntas, takes possession of the kingdom of Macedonia; defeats his rivals and the neighbouring nations; releases Amphipolis, and makes peace with Athens. Diodor. xvi. 4. Clinton, Fast. Hellen. App. 4.
		Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, assassinated.
105. 3	358	Philip takes Amphipolis. Diodor. xvi. 8.
		Campaign of the Athenians in Eubœa against the Thebans.
		Kersobleptes gives up the whole of the Chersonesus, except Cardia, to the Athenians.
105. 4	357	Beginning of the war with the confederates. Chabrias slain at Chios. Diodor. xvi. 7.
		The Phocians take possession of the treasures at Delphi. Diodor. xvi. 14. Philip takes Pydna and Potidæa. (According to other authorities, Ol. 105. 3.)
106. 1	356	Alexander born. Dionysius the Younger expelled from Syracuse. Diodor. xvi. 15. Philip forms an alliance with Olynthus.
106. 2	355	Athens concludes a peace with the confederates. Oration of Demosthenes against Leptines.
106. 3	354	Oration of Demosthenes on the Symmoriæ. Campaign of the Athenians in Eubœa. Battle of Tamynæ.
		Treachery and punishment of Plutarch. (Others place this war in Ol. 173. 3.)
106. 4	353	Philip takes Pagasæ; besieges Methone. The Mega-

Olymp.	Before Christ.	
		lopolitans and Lacedæmonians solicit the friendship of Athens.
		Speech of Demosthenes for the Megalopolitans. Philip plunders the Athenian fleet off Gerœstus, and captures the sacred ship off Marathon.
107. 1	352	Philip defeats the tyrants of Pherœ, who had formed an alliance with the Phocians; and advances without opposition to Thermopylæ.
		Athens sends help to the Phocians. Diodor. xvi. 34. Philip makes considerable progress in Thrace; besieges Herœum; falls ill. First speech of Demosthenes against Philip.
107. 2	351	Oration of Demosthenes for the freedom of the Rhodians. Artaxerxes carries on the war in Egypt.
107. 4	349	Philip enters the Chalcidic peninsula, and lays siege to Olynthus. The Olynthians apply to Athens for assistance. The Olynthian orations of Demosthenes.
108. 1	348	Olynthus taken by Philip. Philip celebrates the Olympic games at Dium. Diodor. xvi. 55.
108. 2	347	[Plato dies.] At the suggestion of Philocrates an embassy is sent from Athens to Philip to negotiate a peace. Ambassadors from Philip come to Athens during the Dionysia; peace concluded (19 of Elaphebolion). Philip's conquests in Thrace. A second embassy sent by the Athenians to Macedonia, to receive the king's oath (ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους). After a delay of several months, Philip takes the oath at Pherœ, and at the same time advances into Phocis and as far as the pass of Thermopylæ.
108. 3	346	Philip admitted into the Amphictyonic council; puts an end to the Sacred War by carrying their resolutions into effect against Phocis. Embassy of the Thessalians and Philip to Athens, to require the confirmation of the Macedonian king's admission into the Amphictyonic council.
		Speech of Demosthenes concerning the peace. The Pythian games celebrated under the presidency of Philip, without the participation of Athens. Diopithes takes out colonists (κληρούχους) to the Chersonese.
108. 4	345	Whilst Philip is fomenting divisions among the Peloponnesian states, and with that view supporting the Messenians against Lacedæmon, the Athenians send an embassy to warn the Messenians and Argives.
109. 1	344	An embassy for those nations arrives at Athens at the same time with one from Macedon, to complain of the favour shown to the Lacedæmonians. Demosthenes delivers his second Philippic. Philip, after a victorious progress, enters Illyria and Thessaly; gains the affections of the people by expelling their tyrants

Olymp.	Before Christ.	
		(Diodor. xvi. 69), and settles the constitution of those states. An embassy from Athens to Philip for the settlement of some questions connected with the treaty of peace.
109. 2	343	Philip threatens Ambracia and Leucas, but is restrained from invading Peloponnesus by the intervention of Athens. Athens sends ambassadors into Peloponnesus. Proceedings with reference to Halonesus, of which Philip complains in a letter to the Athenians. Speech [of Hegesippus ?] respecting Halonesus. Philip marches into Thrace, and defends the Cardians against Diopithes.
109. 3	342	Macedonian mercenaries take Orĕos, in Eubœa. Speech of Demosthenes concerning the affairs of the Chersonesus, for the purpose of preventing the recall of Diopithes, whilst Philip subdues the interior of Thrace, and threatens the Propontis and Hellespont. Third Philippic of Demosthenes.
109. 4	341	Expedition of the Athenians to Eubœa. The tyrants of Oreos and Eretria expelled. Demosthenes receives a crown for this service. Philip besieges Selymbria, and threatens Perinthus and Byzantium.
110. 1	340	Demosthenes advises the Athenians to seek assistance from Persia against the attempts of Philip on the coasts of the Propontis. Philip's letter to the Athenians. Philip declares war against the Athenians. Athens sends aid to the besieged Byzantines. Philip abandons the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, and undertakes an expedition against the Scythians on the Ister. Æschines goes as ambassador (Pylagŏras) to the spring meeting of the Amphictyons, and complains of the plunder of the temple by the Amphissæans. The Amphictyons, in an extraordinary assembly, resolve to declare war against the Amphissæans. Philip, returning from his expedition against the Scythians, is attacked by the Triballi.
110. 2	339	Philip nominated by the Amphictyons commander-in-chief against the Amphissæans. He calls on the Peloponnesians to take part in the war. Philip enters the territory of the Locrians ; the Athenians ask for an armistice, which is renewed in the following month. Philip takes Elatea. Demosthenes brings about an alliance with Thebes. The combined troops obtain advantages in two skirmishes, on account of which there are public rejoicings at Athens. Demosthenes rewarded with a crown.
110. 3	338	Battle of Chæronea, in the Archonship of Chærondas, on the 7th of the month Metageitnion. Ctesiphon proposes that Demosthenes should receive a

Olymp.	Before Christ.	
		golden crown. Demosthenes delivers a funeral oration over the soldiers slain at Chæronea. Philip enters Peloponnesus. Æschines accuses Ctesiphon.
111. 1	336	Philip assassinated at his daughter's wedding.
111. 2	335	Alexander suppresses insurrections in Thrace and Illyria. Enters Bœotia by the pass of Thermopylæ, and destroys Thebes.
111. 3	334	Alexander crosses the Hellespont. Battle of the Granicus.
111. 4	333	Battle of Issus.
112. 2	331	Battle of Arbela.
112. 3	330	Æschines revives the charge against Ctesiphon; is defeated, and goes into exile. Darius, during a retreat, is murdered by his attendants.
113. 3	326	Alexander advances as far as the mouth of the Indus.
113. 4	325	Harpalus flies to Athens with the treasures of Alexander, and endeavours to gain over the orators by bribery. Demosthenes accused of having received some of this money; fined fifty talents; goes into exile.
114. ½	323	Alexander dies at Babylon. Demosthenes recalled.
114. 3	322	Battle of Cranon. Antipater takes possession of Athens, and diminishes the number of the burghers. Demosthenes poisons himself in the temple of Neptune. Hyperides slain by Antipater.

NOTES

ON THE

ORATIO DE CORONA.

(P. 3).

Page 3, § 1.

1 A "In this intentionally long period, Jenisch (Parallel bet. Demosthenes and Cicero, p. 109) discovers an exalted strain of enthusiams produced by the overwhelming importance of his subject, which will not suffer him to take breath, until he has discharged a great portion of it into the souls of his hearers." A singular, but utterly mistaken theory! for in this preamble we rather discover an anxiety, which takes refuge in prayer and supplication; and therefore Cicero, Orat. 38, says that the orator, at the commencement of his speech, advances with modest gait (submissivè); and Quintilian (Inst. Orat. xi. 3, 97) calls his opening "orationem verecundam," and the orator himself "timidum submissumque." *J.*

[Cicero gives the following account of this celebrated trial:— Quum esset lex Athenis, "Ne quis populi scitum faceret, ut quisquam corona donaretur in magistratu, priusquam rationes retulisset;" et altera lex "Eos qui a populo donarentur a concione donari debere; qui a senatu in senatu:" Demosthenes curator muris reficiendis fuit, eosque refecit pecunia sua. De hoc igitur Ctesiphon scitum fecit, nullis ab ipso rationibus relatis, ut corona aurea donaretur, eaque donatio fieret in theatro, populo convocato (qui locus non est concionis legitimæ) atque ita prædicaretur eum donari virtutis ergo benevolentiæque, quam erga populum Atheniensem haberet. Hunc igitur Ctesiphontem in judicium adduxit Æschines, quod contra leges scripsisset, ut et rationibus non relatis corona donaretur, et ut in theatro, et quod de virtute ejus et benevolentia falsa scripsisset; quoniam Demosthenes nec vir bonus esset, nec bene meritus de civitate. Causa autem fuit accusandi Æschini, quoniam ipse a Demosthene esset capitis accusatus, quod legationem mentitus esset, ut ulciscendi inimici causa, nomine Ctesiphontis judicium fieret de factis famaque Demosthenis. Non enim tam multa dixit de rationibus non relatis, quam de eo, quod civis improbus ut optimus laudatus esset. Hanc

mulctam Æschines a Ctesiphonte petiit quadriennio ante Philippi Macedonis mortem. Sed judicium factum est aliquot annis post, Alexandro jam Asiam tenente. Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio!] ‖ **πρῶτον μὲν κ.τ.λ.**—**τοῖς θεοῖς**, as below, § 141, and Æschin. against Timarchus p. 16, § 116; also Lycurgus opens his speech against Leocrates with an invocation of this kind, which however was not *commonly* done. The old Roman orators *usually* began with one [Cic. does in his defence of *Murena* and *C. Rabirius*], as Servius, on the words *præfatus diros* informs us: "More antiquo. Nam majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant, sicut sunt omnes orationes Catonis et Gracchi. Nam generale caput in omnibus legimus. Unde Cicero (Div. in Cæcil. 13) per irrisionem ait: Siquid ex vetere aliqua oratione, Jovem ego optimum maximum." ‖ **πρῶτον μὲν—ἔπειτα.** After *πρῶτον μέν*, the *εἶτα*, or *ἔπειτα*, is *usually* (in Demosthenes *nearly always*) without *δέ*. Cf. 1467, § 766, 1. ‖ **ὃ περ ἐστι μάλιστ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν**, &c., *quod maxime conducit vobis*, &c. ‖ **εὐσεβείας** relates to their observance of the *sanctity* and *religious obligation* of their oath. ‖ **παραστῆσαι** = *facere ut animo teneatis*. D. ‖ **μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον, κ.τ.λ.** Æschines had endeavoured to prescribe to his opponent a particular *order*, in which he was to reply to his charges. His object was to prevent him from entering at length upon his great services and patriotic exertions. ‖ **τὸν ὅρκον**, i. e., the oath taken by the *Heliastæ*. It is given in Demosth. adv. Timocrat. The clause referred to is: *καὶ ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ κατηγορηθέντος καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν.* ‖ **οὐδέ** (*nor yet*) = *οὐδὲ μόνον, nor yet only.* ‖ **τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι.** Luc. d. Calumn. non Tem. Cred. c. 8, *τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην τοῖς κρινομένοις ἀπονέμειν.* Isoc. d. Permut. c. 10. Bekk. § 22, *κοινὴν τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις παρέχειν.* Æschin. d. Fals. Leg. § 7, *ἴσῃ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἀκούοντας.* On the position of the article cf. 681 (550), § 459, 1.

(P. 3).

§ 2.

μὲν οὖν. Gr. 1053, 1. § 721, 1. ‖ **οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.** Demosthenes, if he lost his cause, would lose not only his expected crown, but the favour of his fellow citizens, and the weight and authority he had so long enjoyed. Æschines, if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes (which he *did not*) would have to pay a thousand drachmæ, and would lose the right of ever instituting another impeachment of this kind. *D.* ‖ **ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν**, scil. maximum malum hoc esset, si amitterem benevolentiam vestram. *D.* "The orator's meaning seems to be, that his loss would be indeed incalculable if, with the good will of his fellow citizens, he lost the honour and respect which he enjoyed. The fear of seeming to forebode evil withholds him from expressing this more distinctly. Probably he wishes also to lead the hearers to the opposite inference as regards his adversary, by insinuating that one who never had pos-

2 B

(P. sensed the good opinion of the public, could run no risk of losing it. 3). Aquila Romanus, who adduces this passage as an instance of the apodiopèsin, translates the words—*non pari ego et adversarius periculo ad judicium venimus: sed mihi quidem—nolo quidquam initio dicendi ominosius prodigni.*" J. || **ἐκ περιουσίας**, otii fallendi causâ, ex meræ insolentiâ. *D.* Sallust expresses the force of the phrase by *supercæneum est*; "Nos pro libertate, pro patriâ, pro vitâ certamus; illis *supercæneum est* pugnare pro potentiâ paucorum." Plato uses it of rhetorical contests undertaken as a sort of *amusement*. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν δεινοὶ καὶ σοφοὶ ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ ἦμεν, πάντα τὰ τῶν φρενῶν ἐξηκακότες, ἤδη ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ περιουσίας ἀλλήλων ἀποπειρώμενοι, ξυνελθόντες σοφιστικῶς εἰς μάχην τοιαύτην, ἀλλήλων τοὺς λόγους τοῖς λόγοις ἐκρούομεν. Theæt. 154. *D.* The meaning of the phrase will vary according to the circumstances to which it is applied. The conception upon which it is formed is, that the risk incurred involves nothing that would affect the *man himself*, *his essential well-being*, but only what might cut off something *extraneous*, some *superfluity*; or, if the reference is to any *task or business*, it implies that the doing of the main business is *already secured*, &c. || **ἕτερον δέ** (sc. ἐλαττοῦμαι). || **ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν**, prope dixerim. *D.* Mostly, but not always with reference to a preceding πᾶς or οὐδείς: ὡς εἰπεῖν is also found. || **κἂν μὲν σύλλαβούμενος τοῦτο**, κ.τ.λ. "Cicero sive quis alius in Sallustium: Quo me vertam, P. C.! Unde initium sumam! Majus enim mihi dicendi onus imponitur, quo notior est uterque nostrum. Quod si aut de vitâ atque rebus nostris huic conviciatori respondebo, invidia gloriam consequitur: aut si hujus facta, mores, omnem ætatem nudavero, in idem vitium incidam procacitatis, quod huic objicio." *Wolf.*

Page 4.

A **ἀπολύσασθαι** (*aor.*) with reference to the particular heads of the accusation, each of which was to be definitely and singly refuted. **δεικνύναι** (*pres.*) denotes the *continued* necessity of establishing his claim to honour and reward. So *D.* || **ἐφ' ἃ καί**. καί=etiam. *D.* || **λέγειν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ**, to *speak about myself*, i. e. *in praise* of myself; but he avoids this as a more boastful form of expression. Quint. Inst. Orat. xi. 1, 22. "Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit, ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regereret, qui hoc se coegisset." Plutarch, in his treatise περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως (p. 187, Wytt.), says: Ὁ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψεγόμενος οἷς κατώρθωκε, καὶ παντάπασι συγγνωστός ἐστι καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἐγκωμιάζων τὰ πεπραγμένα· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Τοῦτο γοῦν λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρρησίαν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφῄρει τῶν ἐπαίνων, οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ τι τὸν ὑπὲρ στεφάνου κέχρηται. *D.* || **δίκαιος ἔχειν**, 1071 (822, *a*), § 676, 2, *a*. || **ἐνίστασθαι** (*v. pr.*) **ἀγῶνα** = *litem alicui intendere*. B.

§ 3. (P. 4).

πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. D. translates and explains 3
the words thus: "Omnia enim perdere triste et grave est, maxime vero benevolentiam vestram, h. e. quodsi vero benevolentia vestra continentur omnia et hæc perditur, nulla est jactura major." But *to lose ones's all* is capable of little aggravation; it is far simpler to take the old explanation, i. e., *to be deprived of all things* (= *any thing whatever*) *is a vexatious circumstance, especially if the loss of it is caused by an enemy.* ("*Nam quum quacumque re spoliari grave sit et molestum*," &c. Harless.)

εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. Æschines, p. 84, § 210, had said: B
σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ· ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. Observe the admirable ingenuity of the reply: *φιλανθρωπία* was a favorite virtue of the Athenians; a virtue by which they considered themselves to be distinguished from other nations, particularly the Lacedæmonians. Cf. Lept. 490. *μεῖζον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. D.* ‖ **ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστι.** *πέρ*, appended to a relative, denotes that the relation is one of *precise equality*, 242 (183), § 158, *d.* ‖ **τουτουί**, 243 (184), I. § 158, *e.* ‖ **ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι**, cf. *oro rogoque; peto atque contendo*, &c. ‖ **ὁμοίως** is to be connected with *πάντων ὑμῶν, a vobis cunctis pariter.* R. ‖ **δημοτικός**, cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1190. *ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν.* Solon is often called *δημοτικός, δημοτικώτατος. D.* Here the panegyric pronounced upon him seems to have reference to what Æschines had said in his speech, c. 88, p. 647. "Imagine Solon now present — that great philosopher and lawgiver — who implores you not to be so captivated by the eloquence of Demosthenes, as to forget your oaths and the laws of your country." *J.* ‖ **αἰτίας**, criminationes (Gr. Syn. 45). The word is best defined by Demosth. himself, Androt. p. 600, *ἐγὼ δ' οἶομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο λογίζεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πάμπολυ λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία κεχωρισμένον ἐστὶν ἐλέγχου. Αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις ψιλῷ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δέ, ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ τἀληθὲς ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. D.* ‖ **πρότερος λέγειν.** It is not necessary to read *πρότερον* (though *ὕστερον* follows with *λέγοντος*). Cf. Dem. d. Chersones. p. 92. *ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων πλέον κεκράτηκε τῆς πόλεως Φίλιππος, ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι. D.* ‖ **παρελθεῖν** = *νικῆσαι. Harpocrat.* "Vides suaviter id hic positum propter verba *διώκειν* et *φεύγειν*. Cæterum cf. etiam *παρεξελθεῖν*, Hom. Od. 5, 104." *D.*

τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττειν=constanter per C
totum cursum causæ usque ad finem servare. *D.* ‖ **ἴσον καὶ κοινόν.** These adjectives are very commonly joined, e. g.

(P. Andoc. in Alcib. (Reisk. 114.): *δέομαι ὑμῶν, τῶν λόγων ἴσους καὶ*
4). *κοινοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστάτας γενέσθαι.* On the possible *separation* of the two qualities, cf. Pl. Prot. 68, *Κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ ἀμφοτέρων, μὴ ἴσον δὲ νεῖμαι ἑκατέρῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν σοφωτέρῳ πλέον τῷ δὲ ἀμαθεστέρῳ ἔλαττον.*

§ 4.

ὡς ἔοικε is a cautious addition on account of the *general* assertion involved in *παντός*: so below, § 271, dicit *τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην. D.*

§ 5.

D **περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε**, i. e., the particular charges on which he contended in the indictment, or articles of impeachment (*libellus accusatorius*), that a *παρανόμων γραφή* could be maintained against Ctesiphôn. || **τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις** = criminationibus a causâ alienis. Infr. § 33, *κατηγορεῖν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς.* Isoc. *π. Ἀντιδ.* c. 104. Bekk. *λέγειν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς.* Lys. adv. Simon. c. 46. Bekk. *ἐπειδὴ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐ νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν. D.*

§ 6.

He commences his defence with refuting the calumnies of Æschines with regard to his private life. || **ὅσα βεβλασφήμηκε**, 946 (747), § 548, *c. f.*

Page 5.

A **Εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων.** This *βελτίων καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων* is a frequent formula: "ut ap. Dem. adv. Androt. p. 612, 614, Lys. *κατὰ Θεομν. α'.* c. 23. Bekk., Plat. Gorg. p. 512, ubi cf. Heindorf. p. 227. Ac quod Græcis est *ἀγαθὸς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, ἄριστος ἐξ ἀρίστων*, cf. Heindorf. ad Plat. Phædr. p. 248, dicit Terentius Phorm. i. 6, 65, *bonam bonis prognatam.* Denique est hujus loci etiam formula *τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων* infra § 126." *D.* || **οἱ μέτριοι** are the *average* of good and orderly citizens. || **ἐπαχθές**, *boastful* or *invidious*; properly of what is *annoying* and *provoking* to the hearers.

B **κακοήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθες ᾠήθης** = malitiose ingeniosus cum sis, hoc tamen stulte censuisti, in quo lusu verborum sarcasmus est. Atque etiam *ᾠήθης* est consulto propterea positum. Cæterum conf. Pindar. Pyth. ii. 78, *κερδοῖ δὲ τί μάλα τοῦτο κερδαλέον τελέθει*; Cicer. Catil. i. 11, 27, *ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem videatur.* Verrin. v. 11, 26, *ut eum non modo extra tectum, sed ne extra lectum quidem quisquam videret.*" *D.* These words have reference to the demand of Æschines (c. 69, p. 83 = 593), that the judges should "require Demosthenes to con-

duct the defence in the following order: first, that he should argue the question of his liability to render an account of his administration; secondly, that he should speak respecting the proclamation at the Dionysian festival; and, thirdly, that he should reply to the charge of being undeserving of such a reward. If he asks you (says Æschines), to leave the arrangement of his speech to his own discretion, and promises to speak to the point of illegality at the end of his oration, do not grant his request, for he does not intend to rebut the charge of illegality at all; but will try to make you forget it amidst a crowd of other questions." *J.* **τετύφωμαι.** "*τῦφος* tropice animi inflatio, superbia, vanæ gloriæ ardor: *τετύφωμαι* igitur inflatus sum, superbus. Harpocration: *τετύφωμαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς βροντῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καταφερομένων σκηπτῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Τυφωνικῶν καλουμένων πνευμάτων, ἃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξίστησιν ἀθρόως καταῤῥαγέντα.*" *B.* || **πομπείας.** Harpocrat.: *πομπείας καὶ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ λοιδορίας καὶ λοιδορεῖν. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. Ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς πομπαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν λοιδορουμένων ἀλλήλοις.* || **ἀνέδην** (from *ἀνίημι*, remitto)=*ἐκκεχυμένως, ἐκλελυμένως*=habenis missis. *B.* (P. 5).

§ 7.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν [=*et quidem or immo*] **κατηγορημένα**, κ.τ.λ. "Crimina objecta sane sunt magna et gravia (ut *προδοσία* et *δωροδοκία*), de quorum quibusdam magnas et extremas pœnas statuunt leges, sed hocce præsentis litis consilium est hostilis vexatio et petulantia et convicium et contumelia, criminum vero prolatorum, etiamsi vera essent, non licet civitati pœnam dignam sumere, ne ex parte quidem." *D.* || **ἐπήρεια**=*κάκωσις οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ. Aristot.* "Malitiosa vexandi et nocendi cupiditas." *D.* 7

προπηλακισμός "est genus petulantiæ et contumeliæ. *Προπηλακίζειν* est proprie—stercore alicui vultum illinere, quod licebat in eos, qui *ἀτιμίας* damnati erant. *ὕβρις* facta spectat contumeliosa, *λοιδορία* dicta." *B.* || **οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν**, "neque hoc merâ nocendi libidine et livori tuo satis faciendi causâ facere: nam Æschines ut certius noceret Demostheni, indirectum hoc genus accusationis prætulerat. *Ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου* est *μετ' ἐπηρείας καὶ φθόνου*, ac conferas *τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν* infr. § 173 [p. 40, B.] et *ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει*, hostili modo, Orat. in Lept. p. 481." *D.* || **ὀρθῶς ἔχον**, sic ut fieri debebat. *D.* || **οὔτε πολιτικόν**, nec legibus civitatis conveniens. *D.* It answers to our word *constitutional*. The connexion between the propositions in this passage, which has puzzled the old scholiast, seems to be as follows: "Æschines accuses me of grievous crimes, and if I am really guilty of that which he lays to my charge, there is no punishment too severe for me. But then my accuser is bound to adduce substantial proof; for any man has the right to institute a C

(P. prosecution, but he must not bring forward charges without proof, 5). out of mere malice. But that this is the case here is evident from his whole course of proceeding." *J.* || **τραγῳδεῖν**=verbis grandisonis conquĕri, exaggerare. *D.* There is an allusion (which frequently occurs in this oration) to the original profession of Æschines —that of an actor. || **παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα**, ferventibus delictis. *D.* 1426, 7 (1033, 7), § 637, iii. 2, B. || **εἰσαγγελία**. For a very full discussion of the term *εἰσαγγελία* [delatio. *D.* (*impeachment*] cf. Schömann, p. 176, sqq.

D **γραφὴ παρανόμων**, a public action charging a person with proposing the adoption of an illegal decree. || **εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις.** "Schæferus omitti malit *τιμωρίαι*, cum bis de pœnis dicatur, sed non assentior. Sunt *τιμωρίαι* = pœnæ legibus constitutæ, cum autem neque hæ sumi sine judiciis possint, et in iis causis, ubi lex non præscripsit pœnam, judices ipsi *τίμημα* decernant, pergit: et causarum contentiones et judicia." *D.* Most editions add **τικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τἀπιτίμια**, quæ graves possunt infligere noxas (*D.*); but in the best MS. (Σ) these words are only added in the margin by a later hand. Baiter and Sauppe omit them. *Wst.* places them in [ ].

Page 6.

A **καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προὔστατται**, "et causam totius accusationis sumit, facit inimicitiam in me. Verbum *προϊστασθαι* notat Schæferus esse pr. *πρόφασιν ποιεῖσθαι*, de verâ causâ, comparans locum in Orat. d. Rhod. Libert. p. 192. *Οἶμαι δ' ὑμῶν μνημονεύειν ἐνίους, ὅτι ἡνίκ' ἐβουλεύσασθε περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρήνεσα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνος ἢ δεύτερος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι σωφρονεῖν ἂν δοκοῖτε, εἰ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς παρασκευῆς μὴ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔχθραν ποιοῖσθε.* Adde Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. p. 179. Bekk. *Πολίτου γάρ ἐστι δικαίου μὴ διὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἔχθρας εἰς τὰς κοινὰς κρίσεις καθιστάναι τοὺς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τι παρανομοῦντας ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς εἶναι νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κοινὰς καὶ τὰς προφάσεις ἔχειν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφορᾶς.*" *D.* || **οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκὼς ἐμοί**, "nusquam tamen ad hujus disceptationem obviam mihi fit et se opponit mihi directe. Orat. in Mid. p. 563. *ὡς μὲν οὐ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποίηκεν οὗτος—οὐκ ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ἐπὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπήντων, ὡς ἤλωκεν ἤδη καὶ κατεψήφισται, κ.τ.λ.*" *D.* In this sense *ἀπαντᾶν* is exactly our *to meet* a man upon any point or question. || **τὴν ἑτέρου ζητεῖν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται.** If Ctesiphôn lost his cause, he would be placed in the list of debtors to the treasury, and lose his *ἐπιτιμία*; in other words, become *ἄτιμος* (*i. e.* deprived of all civil rights) until the debt was paid. || **ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι**, "disceptare, de litigantibus; at *ποιεῖν ἐξέτασιν* judicum est, ut infr. § 226." *D.* || **ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν.** "Pro *ἕτερον δὲ ζητεῖν ὅτῳ δώσομεν*, gravius

ἑτέρῳ dixit, arctius sic jungens et directius hanc vocem cum notione κακὸν δοῦναι, ut vertendum sit: quærere cui alii malum inferamus." *D.* A grammarian in Bekker's Anecdŏta says that Demosthenes was blamed for this use of ἐξετασμός, a less purely Attic word than ἐξέτασις. See Lobeck Phryn. 511. *D.* [On the Indic. cf. 1248 (923), § 826, 2.] "Alterum quod observabis hoc loco, est hoc, postpositum esse relativum, et pro ὅτῳ ἑτέρῳ dictum ἑτέρῳ ὅτῳ, ut Soph. Electr. 643, τέκνων ὅσων ἐμοὶ δύσνοια μὴ πρόσεστιν ἢ λύπη πικρά, et Virgil. Georg. i. 167, *omnia quæ multo ante memor provisa repones.* Apparet autem consulto id nunc factum a Demosthene, cum cardo sententiæ in v. ἑτέρῳ vertatur; fortiorem accentum rhetoricum consequitur quod præponitur relativo. Sic v. c. Xenophon Hieron. vii. 2, dicens: τοιαῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦσι τοὺς τυράννους οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα ἀεὶ τιμῶντες τυγχάνουσι, consulto præposuit ἄλλον, pr. ὄντινα ἄλλον cum præcesserit τυράννους." *D.* (P. 6).

§ 8.

The orator now passes on from these general prefatory remarks to the particular heads of his defence; beginning with the charges against him, founded *on the peace with Philip* (Ol. 108. 2), and the second embassy that was sent to that monarch. Æschines had spoken of these matters at p. 62, seqq. The defence of Demosthenes turns upon the fact, that he bore a merely secondary part in those transactions; that the only measure that was properly his, was the urging the people, after they had made peace with Philip, to exchange the oaths of ratification with him as soon as possible. || **ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα** cf. infr. § 22 [p. 7, B], **ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας δεικνυμένων.** B

§ 9.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου. [When a speaker has stated what he is going to prove, and indeed generally, at the beginning of any *narrative* for which the hearers have been prepared, the statement or narrative is usually introduced by γάρ. Cf. Pract. Intr. ii. p. 173.] "The Phocian war (called Sacred because it was occasioned by a dispute respecting the erection of some buildings on a field belonging to the temple at Delphi), was carried on with various success for ten years (from Ol. 105. 4 to 108. 2) by the Phocians (who had the treasures of the temple at their disposal), at first against the Thebans, who were charged with the execution of the sentence passed on the Phocians by the Amphictyonic Council (see Diodor. xvi. 23—59; Pausanias x. 2 ad 3), and then against the Thebans and Thessalians united. Both these nations were stimulated by the remembrance of ancient feuds; whilst, on the other hand, Sparta was induced to undertake the defence of the Phocians by the hope of gratifying her hatred of Thebes. Even at Athens this feeling existed, but its effects were C

(P. 6). limited to the conclusion of an alliance with the Phocians, and (when Philip [Ol. 106. 4] advanced with the Thessalians) to the occupation of the pass of Thermopylæ. With regard to the manner in which the Thebans abused their victory at Leuctra (to which Demosthenes alludes a little lower down), Isocrates (Or. ad Phil. c. 21) remarks, that 'it was owing to this very abuse of their victory that they found themselves in no better a position than if they had been defeated.' Between the Athenians and Thebans there existed an ancient animosity, originating in the difference of the national character, strengthened by the many causes of offence which are continually arising between the inhabitants of conterminous countries, and subsequently, on the side of Athens, by the political importance which Thebes assumed after the victory at Leuctra. For the Thebans, intoxicated by a success to which they were little accustomed (imbecillo animo. Justin, viii. 1, 4), had acted as if they had been always the leading state of Greece (Isocrates Or. ad Phil. c. 21, p. 89, ed. Cor.); and this arrogance was especially manifested in their conduct towards Platæa, and the other cities of Bœotia. It is in reference to these and similar proceedings, that Demosthenes (Orat. ad Lept. c. 90) says, 'The Thebans are prouder of their hard-heartedness and villany than the Athenians of their humanity and love of justice.' [See the original in note on p. 3, B.] It was still remembered against them, that in the time of the Persian wars they had adhered to the barbarian, and had subsequently concluded an alliance with him; and to this the orator refers when he speaks of their 'former transgressions.' Cf. the second oration against Philip, p. 68. 21, ed. R. After the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this charge was reiterated by the enemies of that city: 'Studia in Persas non præsentia tantum, verum et vetera adversus Græciæ libertatem increpantes: quamobrem odium eos omnium populorum esse.' Justin, xi. 3, 9." *J.* || **ἂν ἐφησθῆναι** (=gavisuros fuisse): **παθοῦσι** must be resolved by a *conditional* clause, or by a *concessive* one with *whatever*. *ἐφήδεσθαί τινι = to rejoice over a person*, i. e. to rejoice at evil befalling him. We must not, however, say (with L. and S.) that *συνήδεσθαι* is *never* used of joy over a man's ill-fortune; for Isoc. 176, c. has *συνησθησόμενοι* (=rejoicing together) *ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς*. || **οὐκ—οὐδέ**. Gr. 1493. § 777, 5. || **οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις**, "principatum Græciæ vides esse, quem isto prœlio consecuti erant." *D.* || **διειστήκει** = dissidere cœpisset. *D.* || **οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους**, the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives. || **οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες**. "For an account of the mutual animosities of the Peloponnesian states after the decline of Spartan influence, see Manso's Sparta, iii. 1. p. 237. In the cities which had submitted to Sparta, the government was administered by Decadarchs. The manner in which these functionaries exercised their authority is sufficiently familiar to us from the history of Athens after the battle of Ægospotamos. See Isocrat. Panegyr. c. 30 to Philip, c. 40. Panath. c. 25." *J.* || **ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος—ἔρις καὶ ταραχή**, sed quædam erat inexpli-

cata et apud hos et apud ceteros universos lis et per- (P.
turbatio. (Lat. Vers.) The meaning here given to ἀκρῖτος is that 6).
of Taylor ('contentio tacita et obducta, quæ nondum in apertum bellum erupit'). According to this notion, ἄκριτος is derived from the notion of κρίνεσθαι = bello decernere. D. translates it, infinitæ lites et turbæ. Observe *the position of* τίς.

ἑαυτούς = ἀλλήλους, 1009, 1110 (791), § 654, 2. ‖ συνέκρουε, D
συγκρούειν, collidere. infr. § 163 [p. 37, D.] Thuc. i. 44. *D.* ‖ ἐν οἷς, sc. χρόνοις. *D.* ‖ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, dissidebant. ‖ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο, in perniciem omnium accrescebat (L. V.) crescebat (adolescebat, invalescebat) adversus omnes. *Schf.* ‖ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς [importuni et insolentes, *D.*] νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς. "At the time when this oration was delivered, Thebes had been destroyed by Alexander as a punishment for revolting against him. Dinarchus (Or. c. Demosth. p. 92, 93) in reference to this calamity, charges Demosthenes with having deprived the Thebans of the assistance of the Arcadians, by withholding the gold which he had received from the Persians. This charge, which is not noticed by Æschines, seems, like many other calumnies, to have been the invention of a later period." *J.* ‖ τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ; κ.τ.λ. Observe the force of this question in fixing the attention of his hearers upon its solution. ‖ ὀλίγου δεῖν, *almost*, 1522 (684, *d*), § 864. ‖ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν. εἴτε εἴτε (sive—sive), 1466 (1049), § 778. "Cf. Dem. adv. Aristoc. p. 671, ἡ ὑμετέρα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴτε χρὴ φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν, εἴτ' ὅ τι δήποτε. Crit. p. 50, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε εἴτε ἀποδιδράσκειν εἴθ' ὅπως δεῖ ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. Cic. d. Nat. D. i. 34: *Ista sive beatitas sive beatitudo dicenda est.* Auct. Rhetor. ad Herenn. iv. 29: *Obfuit eo tempore plurimum reipublicæ consulum sive stultitiam sive malitiam dicere oportet sive utrumque.*" D.

Page 7.

οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενί, ut *βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις*, aut *ναυσίν*. *D.* ‖ πολε- A
μούντων. The war referred to is the war about Amphipolis, from Ol. 105. 4 to Ol. 108. 2. ‖ συλλαμβάνειν τινί, 860 (678), § 535. ‖ ὑπηκούσατε, obsecuti estis, sc. in accepting the offer of peace just mentioned. ‖ ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν. "It was in the fourth year of the Sacred War (Ol. 106. 3) that Demosthenes first took a leading part in the management of public affairs. Æschines (Or. c. Ctes. c. 14 and 17) had accused him of precipitating the peace with Philip; but to this Demosthenes replies, that it was the result, not of his negotiations, but of circumstances which had arisen during the war. At the breaking out of the war he had not yet commenced his career as a statesman." *J.* ‖ τούτων. Οὗτος is the regular pronoun to denote the *opposite party* in a cause. Here τούτων = *of Æschines and his party.* ‖ ταυτί, 243 (184) I. § 158, *e*. ‖ ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. "Frequens apud Demosthenem, ut apud alios, conjunctio est

(P. 7). verborum similis significationis, ubi latitudinem, amplificationem, vim postulat sententia majorem. Exempla autem cumulationis sunt: *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*, § 3, B; *ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει*, § 7, C; *ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες*, p. 7, C; *διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῄει*, § 7, D; *κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες*, § 6, B; *βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι*, p. 7, C; *δηλοῦν καὶ δωρίζεσθαι*, § 17; *προῦλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην*, § 19, C; *οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι*, § 112, B; *λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων*, § 84, D; *πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι*, § 13, C; *προορώμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος*, § 10, B; *μηδ' ὁτιοῦν προορᾶν μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι*, § 17, C; *εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς*, § 104, C; *βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς*, § 59, A; *εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, p. 10, A; *ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων*, p. 17, B; ne plura enŏtem." *D.*

B **Ἀριστόδημος—ὁ ὑποκριτής.** "Demosthenes, in his speech De Legat. p. 344, 22, mentions Aristodēmus, an actor named Neoptolemus, and Ctesiphôn, as among those who had counselled the sending of an embassy to Philip to negotiate a peace; and afterwards speaks of Aristodēmus and Ctesiphôn only. According to Æschines (Or. de Legat. c. 5), Aristodēmus was an especial favorite of the king's, and was on that account sent to him to obtain the liberation of the Athenians who had been made prisoners when Olynthus was taken. The report which he brought back of the king's friendly disposition towards Athens, induced the Athenians to listen favorably to the proposal of Philocrătes for the negotiation of a peace." *J.* || **Φιλοκράτης.** "At the time when Philocrates proposed an embassy to Philip, he was, as Æschines assures us (Or. de Fals. Legat. c. 6), on the most friendly terms with Demosthenes, whom he proposed to the people as his colleague in the embassy. It is evident, therefore, that the whole negotiation, from its very commencement, was conducted by Demosthenes and Philocrates, and not by Æschines, as that orator pretends, not only in the passage cited, but in his Orat. c. Ctesiphon. c. 16, 17, where he also asserts that when Philocrates was charged with violation of the laws, Demosthenes had defended him. Now the truth is, that after the second embassy, Demosthenes, so far from defending Philocrates, himself accused him of treasonable practices, and that this charge was formally brought forward by Hypereides, who uniformly supported Demosthenes on all public questions. Before the verdict was given, Philocrates withdrew from Athens, and was condemned to death in his absence. (Dem. Or. de F. Legat. p. 376, 377. Æschin. de F. Leg. p. 192.) Several years after the delivery of the Oratio de Coronâ (Ol. 114. 1), the same charge was brought forward by Dinarchus, that Demosthenes had made common cause with Philocrates, who had been banished for proposing peace. The same orator mentions this as the first occasion on which Demosthenes was guilty of flattering the Macedonians." *J.* || **ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα**, *quacumque de causâ* (sc. id fecere), 1459 *k*, *l*, § 723. || **Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν.** "Eubūlus, an orator of considerable reputation, and, on many occasions, the opponent of Demosthenes. He defended Midias, the enemy of our orator. An unfavorable outline of his character is drawn by Theopompus (Athenæ. iv. Comp. Wichers ad Theop.

Fragm. p. 169). Cephisŏphôn was appointed, in conjunction with Eubulus, an ambassador to Philip by the psephisma (of very doubtful authority) printed in § 11. He supported Æschines in his charge against Ctesiphon. Æschines, in his speech against Ctesiphon, had asserted that Demosthenes had been influenced by corrupt motives in not waiting for the Macedonian peace-embassy and the ambassadors of the other Hellenic states; and that it was his fault that the people, instead of concluding a peace conjointly with the other states, had given up Kersobleptes. It was also asserted, that by this mode of proceeding he had thrown away a favorable opportunity of recovering the Hegemony for Athens. The charge of bribery, too, is not forgotten." *J.* ‖ **οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαῤῥαγῇς ψευδόμενος**, etiamsi tantâ tu contentione vocis et laterum mentiaris, ut [pæne] rumparis.] *D.* Cf. Cic. *dirupi me pæne in judicio Galli Caninii* (Fam. 7, 1, 4). ‖ **ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα**, Gr. 1459, § 723, 1. Æschines, both in his speech de Fals. Legat., and in that against Ctesiphon, had taken great pains, but to no purpose, to establish an intimate connexion between Demosthenes and Philocrates. *D.* ‖ **ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ**. Dem. here goes beyond the truth, for he *had* certainly spoken to this effect; e. g., he had defended Philocrates when impeached by Lycinus. ‖ **πρὸς τῷ αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι**, Gr. 1067 (826), § 678, 3, *d*.

συνέδριον, conventus legatorum e civitatibus fœderatis. *D.* ‖ **εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι**; a spirited aposiopēsis. So Aristoph. Nub. 1832: *ὦ, τί σ' εἴπω*; *D.* ‖ **ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών**, κ.τ.λ., estne ubi tum indignationem ostendisti, cum tamen præsens esses, aut prodiens in suggestum hæc, quæ dicis, docuisti? *D.*—*ἔστιν ὅπου*, 1222 (906), § 817, 5, Obs. 4. ‖ **τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν**, a political transaction of such importance. So below, § 191 [p. 44 A]: *τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις (παρελείφθη), ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί*; *D.* ‖ **τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν**, 1075 (823).

ἦσαν ἐξελήλεγμένοι (*ἐξελέγχω*),=*ἀποδεδειγμένοι* (Ulp.). The full construction is *ἐξελέγχομαι φαῦλος (οὐδενὸς ἄξιος*, &c.) *ὤν*: but the word is here used *absolutely* (like our *to be exposed*): *the sentiments of them all had long ago been tested and found unsatisfactory.* "Dudum constiterat multis documentis sperari ab iis nihil posse. Orat. *π. συνδ. πρ.* *Ἀλεξανδρ.* p. 318: *τῶν δὲ ἐξελεγμένων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ὄντων.* Orat. adv. Aristog. B. p. 807: *τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κοινὰ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένως ἐξελεγμένοις οὔσι φαύλοις ἐπιτρέπειν.*" *D.* *Wst.* considers the meaning to be simply that *their sentiments had been ascertained*, i. e., with reference to concluding the peace with Philip. I prefer the former explanation. It was the *hopelessness* of expecting effectual aid from the other states that, according to Niebühr, justified Dem. in being a party to the peace of Philocrates. ‖ **Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα**. "The name of Eurybates, or Eurybatus, is used proverbially to signify an adroit thief and cheat. How once upon a time a man who bore this name escaped from prison under the very eyes of his gaolers, who had wished to see a specimen of his art, is related by Eustathius, Odyss. v. 247,

(P. and by Suidas (T. i.) who mentions a certain Ζεὺς Εὐρύβατος, who
7.) could assume all sorts of shapes, and acquired a large fortune by his roguery. See Aristophan. Fragm. ed. Dindorf, p. 118. Demosthenes seems to have been provoked to make this allusion by a passage in the speech of Æschines, in which he says—'Neither Phrynondas, nor Eurybatus, nor any other of the swindlers of former days, was, I verily believe, such a juggler and trickster as this man.'" *J.* ‖ **ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα** = the Latin *verum non est ita*, cf. Sallust. Catil. 51. Jugurth. 85. Cicer. de Legg. 1, 6. ‖ **τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι**, 1476, *n.* ‖ **ἀλλὰ—ἀλλὰ—ἀλλὰ**, κ.τ.λ. Gr. 1444, j. *end.*

PAGE 8, § 10. [§ 25, p. 233.]

A **ἔγραψα — ἀποπλεῖν.** Gr. 1092 (831, *b*). ‖ **ἀπολαμβάνειν**, "præsenti tempore, h. e. ut exigant, operam dent ut accipiant. Constat enim præsentia verborum plurimorum de conatu dici." *D.* ‖ **τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο**; Quid hoc sibi volebat? *D.* What was the *meaning* (or *object*) of this?

B **τοῦτο ἐκ**, κ.τ.λ., **τοῦτο**, viz. that the taking of the oaths should be put off as long as possible. ‖ **πάντα ταῦτα.** Lobeck (ad Soph. Aj. p. 423) remarks, that there is no point on which the MSS. differ more than on the collocation of *πάντα ταῦτα* and *ταῦτα πάντα*. The *general* rule of course is, that the weightier notion precedes; and that is here *πάντα*: whatever he might get possession of, he would retain it *all*. (So *D.*)

C **διασύρειν**, to pull to pieces, *i. e.* for the purpose of exposing it to ridicule, scorn: *διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπῄνεσε* Dem. *περ. Συντ.* 169. Æschin. in Ctes. 65, § 82: *Οὗτός ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον.* *D.* "'It was he who discovered Serrion-Teichos, Doriscus and Ergiskê, Ganos and Ganis, places of which we had never before even heard the names.' These places, some of which are mentioned by Herodotus, 7, 59, 108, were situated on the coast of Thrace, and belonged to the dominions of Kersobleptes, who had admitted into them Athenian garrisons. Mention is made of some of them in the speeches concerning Halonesus, and the Chersonese, and in other places, whenever an opportunity occurred of denouncing the perfidy of Philip. In Libanius iv. some of these names are mis-spelt." *J.* ‖ **οὕτω**, emphatically: *under those circumstances and no less favorable ones* = *and not till then.* 1124, § 696, Obs. 6. ‖ **τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων**, as being situated on the Thracian coast, so that their possession would be of great service to the Athenians, now that Philip was meditating the conquest of the Chersonese. Thuc. 1, 68: *ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἀποχρῆσθαι* (Potidæa), and Strab. ix. 639, C. of Elatea: *ὅτι πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐνταῦθα πόλεων καὶ ἐπικαιροτάτη διὰ τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στένοις καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν* (*D.*).

‖ **τολλῶν μὲν—τολλῶν δέ**—anaphŏra. Gr. 1458, *d*, § 764, *b*. (P. He alludes to the Thracian gold-mines, near Crenides (or Philippi), 8). from which Philip is said to have obtained more than a thousand talents every year. Diodor. xvi. 8. Appianus de Bell. civ. lib. iv. c. cv. Schweigh. *D.* ‖ **προσάγειν**, *introducere* (so Xen. Hell. 5, 2, 11. *D.*). Foreign ambassadors were introduced to the assembly by a decree of the **βουλή**; hence Dem. uses the term **βουλεύων**, to intimate that he procured the passing of this decree in his senatorial capacity, as a member of the Athenian *Senate* or *Council*. ‖ **τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει**. The *neut.* of a *demonstrative* or *rel.* pronoun often *represents* a substantive, and takes a partitive gen. So **τὸν τειχισμὸν, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες**, below, 299 [p. 64, B] = **τὸν τειχισμόν μου διέσυρες**, and Dem. 57, 30: [**τῆς μητρὸς**], **καὶ γὰρ ταύτην διαβεβλήκασί μου** (*Kr.*). "In his speech, c. 19, Æschines condemns the haste with which Demosthenes had urged on the negotiations for peace with the ambassadors of Philip, as well as his behaviour towards them during their presence at Athens at the time of the Dionysia. 'He had sat a whole year in the senate without having once invited an ambassador to occupy the seat of honour: but no sooner did the ambassadors of Philip appear, than he placed pillows under them and spread out carpets before them, and conducted them at break of day into the theatre, and was hissed by the people for his meanness.' Of this officiousness Demosthenes, according to Æschines, had boasted on the occasion of the second embassy, in his speech before the king, and had also declared that he had lodged the ambassadors, hired carriages to convey them out of the city, and accompanied them on foot. (Or. de F. Legat. c. 30.) On the other hand, Demosthenes contends (Or. de F. Legat.) that in his treatment of the ambassadors he had done no more than maintain the dignity of the Athenian state." *J.* ‖ **εἰ ᾤμην** nearly = **ὅτι ᾤμην**.

ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν, 790 (632), § 858, 3. ‖ **τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν**, "ut revera vobiscum loquerentur; noluit **διαλεχθεῖεν**, quod præstulisset, si de consilio sine eventu ageretur." *D.* Cf. Gr. 1306, *b* (952, *b*) § 806, 1, 2. ‖ **θέαν—κατανεῖμαι**, to *appropriate* or *assign to them a particular seat*. **θέα** [**θεά**, *goddess*] a view, a spectacle: here, a place from which to see a spectacle; in this case, a theatrical representation. So Æsch. 35, 10: **θέαν εἰς τὰ Διονύσια κατανεῖμαι τοῖς πρίσβεσι**. "The architect who contracted to keep the theatre in repair [**θεατρώνης, θεατροπώλης ἀρχιτέκτων**], received as a remuneration a part of the entrance-money, which generally amounted to two oboli a head." *J.* ‖ **ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν** = *in the two-oboli seats*, the seats appropriated to those who pied the usual price for admission. Handb. Gr. Antiq. 158. Cf *spectare in quatuordecim*. ‖ **τὰ συμφέροντα** = *the interests*. ‖ **τὰ—ὅλα**, "res summas, summa r eipublicæ, cf. Henrich. ad Cic. Orat. pr. Tull. p. 69, et conf. infr. § 278 [p. 60, A], § 303 [p. 65, A], et Olynth. ii. 1 fin. Philipp. iii. § 64." *D.* ‖ **λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών**, he addresses the

(P. 8). public scribe or secretary, here the secretary of the Archon who presided at *γραφαὶ παρανόμων*. *D.*

§ 11. [§ 29, p. 235.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. "This psephisma is the first of the numerous documents brought forward in confirmation of the assertions made in the speech; but instead of answering this purpose, and clearing up historical questions, they have involved them in hopeless obscurity and confusion. There never was an Archon named Mnesiphilus: Themistocles was Archon in the year in which these events occurred. (Æschin. c. Ctes., c. 18.) TEN, and not FIVE commissioners were appointed to administer the oath, and with the single exception of Æschines, were not the persons named in the psephisma, but those who had been members of the first embassy (to negotiate the peace). (Æschin. Or. de F. Legat., p. 41. Demosth. de F. Leg. p. 376.) The contents of the psephisma differ in many particulars from the motion of Demosthenes; and the chronological arrangement cannot be made to agree either with the statements in the speech or with the order in which the occurrences actually took place; and lastly, one psephisma purports to be a resolution of the senate and people, whereas the actual resolution was passed by the senate alone. (Æschines de F. Legat. p. 40. Demosth. de F. Leg. p. 389, 12.) We find the same difficulties with regard to almost all the other documents brought forward in the first half of this speech. The misnomers in the list of Archons (archontes pseudeponymi) would alone be sufficient, even if there were no other discrepancies, to throw suspicion on the whole affair. If these misstatements were not intentional, which considering all the circumstances we can hardly conceive, there must have been an errour, and that errour handed down from generation to generation, of which no other instance, as far as we know, has ever occurred. Attempts have been made to solve this enigma by A. Boeckh (de Archontibus Pseudeponymis) and Winiewski, who maintain—1. That the documents in question were not cited by the orator himself, but interpolated at a later period, and that they are wanting in several manuscripts. 2. That they are undoubtedly copies of ancient inscriptions, in transcribing which the writer has mistaken the name of the secretary of the prytany (*τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ κατὰ πρυτανείαν*) for that of the Archon, which, in the collection to which he had access, is not appended to each decree, but merely mentioned at the beginning of the year. It is also very possible that he may have made some alterations in the preambles, which he found incomplete. 3. The transcriber has selected the wrong documents, and confounded different periods. 4. That he soon grew tired of his work, the inutility of which he probably foresaw, and consequently that no documents are quoted in the latter half of the speech.—There can be no doubt that the difficulty in this place has been occasioned by the substitution of a decree relating to some other embassy, for that

which authorized the embassy for the administration of the oath to Philip. The other peace, here alluded to, was, according to Boeckh's conjecture, the same as that mentioned by Diodorus, 16, 77. It is very possible, that the five ambassadors named in this decree, were authorized to TAKE as well as administer the oath, whereas the ambassadors sent out in Ol. 108. 2, were merely empowered to *administer* to Philip the oath which, on the part of the Athenians, had been already taken at home." *J.* || **ἐπὶ ἄρχ. Μνησ.** For the month *Hecatombæôn*, cf. Gr. Handb. Gr. Antiq. 175; for **ἕνη τε καὶ νέᾳ**, ib.; for **πρυτανεύειν**, ib. 105, A. (P. 8).

PAGE 9.

πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων, i. e., from the whole nation, *without reference to tribes.* A regular formula, cf. adv. Timocr. 707. || **ὅπως ἂν** [Gr. 1310 (953), § 810] **ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ**, i. e., on the first of the four *ordinary* monthly meetings of the assembly, held about the *eleventh* of every month. [Handb. Gr. Antiq. 95.] || **μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους.** "Etymol. Magn. p. 778, 36, ex hoc loco explicat *ἀναβολήν.* Cæterum festinationem dicunt defensores psephismatis etiam tum potuisse utilem esse, ne Philippus e Scythia reversus in eo, qui tum erat, statu Græciæ, graviora moliretur adversus Athenienses." *D.* || **ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι.** It is only **λαβεῖν** that is mentioned in the senatusconsultum of Demosthenes. *D.* "Quod Æschines, qui tum Pylagoras fuit, hic inter legatos affertur ad Philippum mittendos, Winiewski p. 234 sic explicat, Atheniensium Pylagoras non interfuisse istius æstatis extraordinario conventui, quod sane ex Æschinis oratione p. 71, § 128, discimus. Vides tamen quam variæ in hoc psephismate difficultates sint." *D.* On Eubūlus and Cephisŏphôn, cf. above, § 9, B. Democrates is called the son of Sophilus, § 291 [p. 43, B]. A

§ 12. [§ 30, p. 235.]

τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας. They had a conference with Philip on the *fiftieth* day from their departure, but were absent nearly three months from home, from the 3rd of Munych. to the 13th of Sciroph. *D.* || **ἕως ἦλθε — καταστρεψάμενος, κ.τ.λ.** "The capture of the fortresses on the Propontis (mentioned in note on § 10, c), was followed (Ol. 109. 2) by the entire subjugation of the territories belonging to Kersobleptes." *J.* B

μᾶλλον δέ = *or rather.* || **ὁρκίζειν**, less common than **ὀρκοῦν.** (Lob. ad Phryn. 361.) C

§ 13. [§ 31—§ 37, p. 236.]

ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, Thuc. i. 88: **νῦν τε καὶ τότε**, Soph. Electr. 676, 907: **νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι**, id. Antig. 181: **καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος**, Leon. Tarent. xxi. 4: **καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν**, infr. § 100 [p. 23, D]. Porro **καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί**, Plat. Phæd. 88, d. **νῦν τε καὶ ἀεί**, Sympos. 217. D. observes

(P. 9). that Demosthenes speaks with this strength and vivacity, because Æschines had made sport of these insignificant places, with their outlandish names. It is a rule of Aristotle's, that "an orator should oppose *mockery to earnestness, and earnestness to mockery.*"

D **ποιήσαιτο — ἐξέλθοιτε**, though the *præsens historicum* (**ὠνεῖται**) has been followed by subj. (**ἀπίωμεν**), the *optative* is here used to refer the views of Philip to his own mind, and to his own communications with the treacherous ambassadors. [Gr. 1385 (1000), § 885.] ‖ **ἀπαγγειλάντων** (= **εἰ ἀπήγγειλαν**) is followed by the indicatives **μέλλει, παρασκευάζεται**, according to the frequent practice of Greek writers. [1389 (1001), § 886. 2.] ‖ **Πύλας** = Thermopylæ. ‖ **ὥσπερ πρότερον.** Ol. 106. 4. They might have done this equally well now, since Proxenus, the Athenian admiral, was at Oreus, in Eubœa, with his fleet. Cf. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 45. Dem. de F. Leg. 389. *D.* ‖ **οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ.** Cf. 60, 24, *ἐν σκότει καὶ πολλῇ δυσκλείᾳ. Wst.* "Pro verbis simplicibus *φοβεῖσθαι, ἀγωνιᾶν, ταράττεσθαι, ἀπορεῖν, ἐλπίζειν, θαυμάζειν*, aliis similibus, ubi significantius quid et gravius requiritur, amplificatas locutiones adhibent *ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν ταραχῇ, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι, ἐν ἐλπίσιν, ἐν θαύματι εἶναι καὶ ἐκπλήξει*, similiterque Latini dicunt: in spe, in dolore, terrore, metu, tumultu esse.—Potest denique etiam harum locutionum vis augeri adjectivis additis, *ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ εἶναι, ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ εἶναι, εἰς μέγαν θόρυβον καταστῆναι*, et quæ sunt similia. Plurimum refert in interpretatione diligenter attendere quid simplicius, lenius, quid nervosius, gravius, ornatius dictum sit. Unde talia juniorum causa explico." *D.* ‖ **ὥστε — μισθοῦται.** The use of the present adds greatly to the *graphic spirit* of the statement; the indic. even of itself denotes that the statement is a *fact.*

Page 10.

A **δι' ὧν—ἀπώλετο** = *talia domum scribere—ut per ea rerum omnium summa perierit.* [1248 (923), § 826.] ‖ **μὴ κατηγορήσαντος** = **εἰ μὴ κατηγόρησεν.** ‖ **ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς**, cf. above. ‖ **ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.**, observe the *oratio directa.*

B **ἡμερῶν** of the time *intra quod:* 868, 2 (685), § 523. ‖ **οἰκειότητας.** "Ridet Demosthenes v. *οἰκειότητας*, necessitudines, de amicitia inter Philippum et Athenienses usurpatum." *D.* ‖ **ἀναλγησία**, *stolid insensibility*, denotes the want of all *delicacy of feeling*, cf. **ἀναλγής**, Gr. Syn. 66. This, or **ἀναισθησία** (p. 12, A), was a fault supposed to be characteristic of the Theban character: whence the well-known proverb, a *Bœotian hog*, **βοιωτία ὗς.** ‖ **εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν.** "Ubertas in tempore definiendo frequens, quia sæpe apta aut necessaria est." *D.*

C **τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν, κ.τ.λ.** "Similiter de F. Leg. 368: *ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε.* Cum paullo ante subjectivum sensum vocis videris, nunc objectivum habes: civitas nostra odium incurrit, Philippus

gratiam tulit." *D.* "The consternation produced at Athens by the intelligence of the fate of the Phocians, is described by Demosthenes in his speech de F. Legat. In the same speech he shows also how, through the information treacherously furnished by Æschines, the Thebans were made acquainted with the unfriendly disposition of the Athenians towards Thebes, and additional cause was afforded them for gratitude to Philip." *J.* || ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι, a condensed expression = *to prove* (*show*, &c.) that this is so (*read me*—, &c.). Cf. Isæ. 185: ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας. *D.* P.) 10).

§ 14. [§ 37, 38, p. 238.]

συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ. Hbk. Gr. Antiqq. 95, D. "The extraordinary meetings were convened either by the *generals* (stratēgi), or by the prytanes and stratēgi. Cf. Thuc. 4, 118. Schömann would remove *kai* from this passage; the meeting was assembled by the stratēgi, with the consent of the prytanes and senate." *D.*

μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἐπὶ ἕντος. "Habuit Mæmacterio anni Ol. 108. 3, secundum cyclum Metonis undetriginta dies, non triginta, ut error subesse videatur." *D.* || Καλλισθένης. "In this psephisma also, the name of the Archon is wrong. The date, too (21st of Mæmacterion), must be a mistake, for the assembly mentioned by the orator took place six months later, at the end of Scirophorion (Dem. de F. Leg., Boeckh. Winiewski); there is, moreover, a discrepancy in many particulars between the psephisma and our orator's speech de F. Legat. (p. 379, 25.) Winiewski thinks that there were two decrees passed on the motion of Callisthenēs, and that the one issued in the month Scirophorion is lost. The other was passed on the 21 Mæmacterion, when the army of Philip began its march, for the purpose of carrying into effect the resolution of the Amphictyonic council. That Athens at that time made preparations, is evident from the king's letter, written immediately after his irruption into Phocis." *J.* || κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι (pernoctare, *to sleep*). So Polyb. v. 17, 9. Δηλῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ διήσει πάντας μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων κοιταίους ἐν τῇ τῶν Τεγεατῶν γίγνεσθαι πόλει. || τοῖς τῆς προβουλίας ἐπιτιμίοις. Ἐάν τις ἡ πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. Xen. Hell. 1, 7, 23. *Br.* || ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, the administrative general. "Præfectus curæ pecuniarum publicarum. Quum ejus curæ demandata erant instrumenta bellica, is erat in consilio quod dici potest bellico." *Br.* || ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. "Sic nominatur p. 718 in Orat. adv. Timocrat. Dicitur etiam γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν in inscriptionibus. Boeckhius[1]—hunc scribam docet senatorem fuisse et prytanin, singulis prytaniis a senatu porrectis manibus ex prytanibus electum. Eundem suspicatur ibid. p. 148, postea γραμματία κατὰ πρυτανείαν appellatum, ut ab alio recens D

[1] Ad Corp. Inscriptt. v. i. p. 120, p. 9, p. 323.

(P. addito distingueretur." *D.* || **τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν.** Cf. Gr. 1435 .10). (1039), § 647.

PAGE 11.

A **Ἀφιδνα,** " demus Atticus, Leontidis tribus, munitus ut ex hoc loco apparet et aliis." *Br.*

§ 16. [§ 39, p. 239.]

τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα, oppida Phocidis. *D.*

B **ὅσα μὲν ἑκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων.** " Utitur leniore verbo, pr. se subjecerunt dicens se adjunxerunt partibus nostris, cf. § 195 [p. 44, c, D]." *D.* || **εἰσαγηοχότας** (cf. infr. *καταγήοχεν*, § 73 [p. 17, D]). *ἀγήοχα* is "indeed a form found fault with by the Atticists, but still a very good and old Greek form, occurring as early as *Lysias*." Buttm. Lexil. 139 : he explains its origin from *ἄγηχα* (with Att. redupl. from *ἦχα*) by a desire to conform it to the analogy of *ἐδήδοκα, ἐνήνοχα* : — *ἀγήγοχα* is found in inscriptions. || **κατεσκάψαμεν.** " Redit ad finitum verbum relicta constructione participii in secundo membro, quod amant facere Græci, ut constat, inde ab Homero." *D.* || **κατὰ κράτος.** " Demosthenes maintained the contrary in his speech De F. Legat. p. 360, in order to aggravate his adversary's guilt." *J. τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἀλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντας αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν. D.* || **καὶ ὑμᾶς.** D. thinks that perhaps the Lacedæmonians, who were gone away, were again thinking of sending succours. || **τοῖς ὅλοις,** in universum. || **οὐδὲ μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν,** "non videmini bene agere, facere in quo quis acquiescere possit: quod lenius dictum pr. male agitis." *D.* || **ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες,** nihilo secius, quasi re libera, exercitum parantes educere contra me. *D.* || **τῶν Φωκέων, κ.τ.λ.** " Though the Phocians were allies of Athens, Philip had not included them in the peace (Dem. de F. Leg. 395, 25 ; 443), but had employed the envoys who favoured his interests to convey to the Athenians a plausible reason for making this exception (Dem. l. c. p. 444, 15), by which the fears of the Phocians themselves were so far quieted that they offered no resistance (Dem. l. c. p. 357, 2 ; 359, 15, 361, 1), and their general, Phalæcus, who was in command of their troops posted at Thermopylæ, allowed the Macedonians to march through the pass. (Diod. 16, 59.) Comp. Æsch. de F. Leg. p. 45 (= 301) sqq., where these events are related at length." *J.* || **ἀδικοῦντες,** 1067 (826), § 678, 3, *b*.

§ 17. [§§ 40, 41, p. 239.]

C **διορίζεσθαι** = affirmare. Pollux places together, as synonymes, *διαβεβαιοῦμαι, διισχυρίζομαι, διορίζομαι, διατείνομαι.* . *D.* So in

this oration (p. 26, C) ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο. ‖ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους. These words further describe the ὑμᾶς, P.) 11). *to you—to you, his own allies* (J. D.); for a συμμαχία had been concluded at the time of the peace. *D.* ‖ ᾤχετο—λαβών, captos abduxit: h. e. plane decepit et obcæcavit. *Carried them away with him*; "acquired such absolute dominion over their affections that," &c. *L.* So de Fals. Leg. 347: εἶπε δὲ τοιούτους λόγους καὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔχοντας ἀγαθά, ὥσθ' ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβὼν ᾤχετο. *D.* ‖ εἰς τὸ—προορᾶν, not = ὥστε προορᾶν (*D.*); but the εἰς marks *the terminus ad quem; the extreme point* of blindness and insensibility *up to which* Philip carried his adherents. "Præsentia tempora usurpat statum animorum proponens, quod vero inde consecutum est peccatum ut non restiterint Philippo, aoristo ἔᾶσαι significat." *D.* ‖ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν, Gr. 1476, *s.*

φενακίζειν, "tropice decipere. Proprie de eo dicitur, qui habet D φενάκην, πηνίκην, additicias comas. Qui enim viri falsas comas gestabant pro fraudulatoribus habebantur." *Br.* ‖ τῶν Θηβαίων δέ. τὰ πάθη. Æsch. c. Ctes. (c. 40, p. 71 = 518) had said: "The Amphictyons assembled at Pylæ, except the deputies of one city, whose name I will not mention. May a similar misfortune never again befall any of the Hellenic states! Further on (c. 48, p. 76, = 544), he again deplores the calamity that had befallen the city, which had been destroyed in the preceding year; and it is to this second passage that the words of our orator may very possibly refer." *J.* ‖ ἔχων = *as having; because you have.* That Æschines had possessions in the Phocian territory, is asserted by Dem. in de Fals. Leg. 386: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ πάνθ', ὅσα ἑωράκαθ' ὑμεῖς, οἰκίας, ξύλα, πυρούς. ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμμάχων χώρᾳ κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμπληθεῖς, Φιλοκράτει μὲν τάλαντον ἔχουσαι πρόσοδον, τούτῳ δ' Αἰσχίνῃ τριάκοντα μνᾶς. He may also have had property, as Demades had (cf. Æsch. Ep. xii. 434), in Bœotia, after the destruction of Thebes. *D.* ‖ ἐξητούμην. "Æschines c. Ctes. asserts that when Alexander was already before Thebes with his army, the Athenians in alarm sent Demosthenes on an embassy to that prince, but that on the road he was seized with fear, and hastened back again. From this he takes occasion to censure his fellow-citizens in severe terms, for having refused to *give up* a man who was as useless in peace as in war. Plut. (vit. Dem. 23), asserts that Alexander demanded that *ten* of the leading anti-Macedonian orators should be given up to him; others say eight. In his life of Phoc. (17), he mentions the names of *four*. By the advice of Phocion (!) Alexander retracted this demand[1]. Diod. (17, 15) gives a different account of the affair." *J.*

§ 18. [§ 42, p. 240.]

ἀλλὰ γάρ, 1455, *c*, § 786. Obs. 6. An instance of *metabasis.*

[1] According to Thirlwall, Phocion *advised* the surrender, and it was the base Demades who, for a fee of five talents, induced Alexander to relent. Vol. v. 118.

(P. 11). "Rutilius Lupus de Fig. Sentent. lib 2, juxta initium, hæc verba ita vertit: *Sed nimirum inopinans incidi in causam temporis hujus alienam*, de qua posterius dicendum. *Quapropter ad illud, quod paulo prius agendum, revertor.*" Taylor.

PAGE 12, § 19. [§ 43, p. 240.]

A **οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι** [p. 10, B] **Θηβαῖοι.** The Thessalians, who were "as much *Epirotic*, or *Macedonian*, as *Hellenic*" (Grote), were made up apparently of a race of conquerors, constituting a haughty *noblesse*, a body of subject Achæans, Magnêtes, and Perrhæbi, and a body of serfs. Their cities exhibited "the extreme of turbulent oligarchy;" and they were exceedingly disliked by the genuine Hellênes, being accused of being seditious, *στάσεως μεστοί*, Isoc. Ep. ad Phil. ii. p. 487[1], faithless, and immoral. They were invariably hostile to the Phocians, and were accordingly devoted to Philip, who had destroyed the Phocians, and (Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi. 26), imitated their manners, and expelled their tyrants, Ol. 109. 1. *D.* The motives that attached the *Thebans* to Philip, are thus stated by Demosthenes himself, de Fals. Leg. p. 385: *πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνη γέγονεν αὐτοῖς πονοῦσι καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἠττωμένοις, εἶτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν Φωκέων ἅρδην ὄλεθρος καὶ ὅλων τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀναίρεσις. Ἆρα καὶ μόνα ταῦτα; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Ὀρχομενός, Κορώνεια, Κορσιαί, τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον, τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας ὁπόσην βούλονται. D.*

B **ὅμως,** 1126 *b* (855, *b*), § 697, *c.* || **καὶ—δέ,** *et vero etiam; atque etiam,* 1458, *n* (1053, *c*), § 769, 2. || **περιών,** hostili exercitu huc illuc se vertens. || **Ἰλλυριοὺς,** κ.τ.λ. "Philip's expedition against the Illyrians took place Ol. 109. 1. On his return from this he immediately advanced to assist the Thessalians against the tyrants of Pheræ, threatened Megara and Ambracia, and destroyed Porthmus (Diod. 16, 69). His war with the *Triballi* (a people in *Mœsia inferior*), is placed by Justin (9, 3) after the Scythian expedition Ol. 110. 1." *J.* || **τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο.** So in the Orat. de Hal. 84. *Φεραίων μὲν ἀφῄρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπίᾳ τρεῖς πόλεις Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βουχέτην καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, Ἠλείων ἀποικίας, κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος, παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. Σφόδρα γε βούλεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα.* "The expedition against Cassopia, in Epirus, probably took place Ol. 109½, in which year he also attacked Ambracia, but without success." *D.* || **ἐκεῖσε,** illuc; to the Macedonian court. "So, for example, the

[1] "*ἄπιστοι* Sch. ad Aris. Plut. 521, *διπλοῖ καὶ ποικίλοι* Dionys. Halic. Rhet. c. xi. p. 402, vol. v. Reisk., et notatur eorum intemperantia, *ἀταξία, ἀκολασία*, cf. Athen. vi. p. 260, B, C, Platon. Crit. p. 53, d." *D.*

actor Neoptolemus, of whom Dem. asserts (de Pac. p. 59) that immediately after the ratification of the peace, he sold all his real property, and hastened with the sums for which he had disposed of it to Philip." Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτητ' οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας πρὸς ἐκεῖνον [Φίλιππον] ἀπάγων οἴχεται. ‖ διεφθείροντο, *were corrupted* = *bribed:* more fully just below διαφθείρεσθαι ἐπὶ χρήμασι. (P. 12).

εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾔσθάνοντο, ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. Pl. Apol. 34 *e*: εἰ μὲν θαῤῥαλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μή, ἄλλος λόγος. Dem. Phil. iii. 114: ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος. Pl. Leg. i. 7, 634, *d*: ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη. Cic. Nat. D. i. 39: *Alia est ea quæstio.* Dem. had been twice sent as ambassador into the Peloponnesus, once in 345 B.C. (the year before the second Philippic was delivered, alluded to in it, p. 70), and again in 343 B.C. Cf. Phil. iii. p. 129. He had also gone on an embassy to Ambracia, about the same time. Cf. below, p. 53. *D.* ‖ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν, the ἰδιῶται and πολλοί are the *same* persons. 677 (547), § 459, 9. ‖ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἁπάντων — οἰομένων = ut putarent. The participle οἰομένων describes the *manner* in which the persons in question were affected. If the preceding participle were changed into a principal verb, the construction would be, τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπόνθασιν ἅπαντες — οἰόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. This use of an explanatory *participle*, where *we* should use, and might expect, a verb, is illustrated by Heindorf ad Pl. Phæd. p. 11: πάντες οἱ παρόντες σχέδον οὕτως διεκείμεθα, ποτὲ μὲν γελῶντες, ἐνίοτε δὲ δακρύοντες = *at one moment we laughed, at another wept.* D. ‖ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων, periculis, quæ aliis imminerent, et σχήσειν raro pr. ἕξειν. *D.* (c)

πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι, 1110 (843), § 684, ii. ‖ ἀκούουσιν, *hear themselves called;* like the Latin *audio.* ‖ τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ--χρῆται. συμβούλῳ = *as* (or *for*) *his adviser,* 828 and 927 (669, *b*, 734), § 860, 2. ‖ οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου, sc. εἰ μὴ οὕτως εἶχε, 1302 (948). πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, *multum certe abest:* a formula of very frequent occurrence, in which the pupil should observe the emphatic καί. (d)

Page 13.

Jn. δεσπότης ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων εἰδὼς δὲ (= *et quum sciat* —), κ.τ.λ. ‖ τότε δή, 1459 *m*, § 721, 1. ‖ καὶ γὰρ εἰ, *for even if* or *when, nam etiam si,* 1476, *t* (1053, *k*), § 786, obs.; the clause is a virtual parenthesis to justify his calling their attention to *past instances* and illustrations of this general proposition. Even when it is too late to avert the evil by present action, it is not too late to learn from the past experience. ‖ Λεσθένης. *Lasthenes* was the person who, with Eucrates, betrayed Olynthus to Philip. Both the traitors were punished by a miserable end. "*Simus* was, according to Harpocr., of the family of the *Aleuadæ*, the old opponents of the tyrants of Pheræ; it is known that the name of *Simus* was a family name amongst the Aleuadæ, and it is highly probable that *Eudicus* also was an *Aleuade.* (Buttm. Mythol. 2, pp. 251, 299.) (a)

(P. 13). *Simus* of *Larissa*, mentioned in Or. adv. Neær. (p. 1352 and p. 1382) is, without doubt, the same person as the Simus in the passage before us. The name is sometimes written *Samus*. *Timolaus*, *Aristratus*, and *Perilaus*, are mentioned again (p. 324 [§ 117, c]), in a long list of Greek traitors. The first of them is called by Dinarchus (adv. Dem. p. 99, 33) a friend of Demosthenes, and accused, at the same time, of having received bribes from Philip. *Perilaus* is mentioned again in the Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 435, 29." *J.* || **εἶτα** = *and then*, 1476, *end.* || **πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη**, h. e. Græcia. "Similiter in Or. de Hal. 85, **οὔτ' ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ αἱ δωρεαὶ ἔσονται . . . . ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις χώρα . . . . φανήσεται**, κ.τ.λ., et in Schol. ad Aristoph. Equitt. v. 739. Vömel. recte observat e serie orationis intelligi qualis regio sit, ut alias orbis Romanus dicitur **ἡ οἰκουμένη**.—Cæterum sensus: Nec minus proditores per reliquam Græciam contemti sunt." *D.* || **Τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος**, κ.τ.λ., *and what of Aristratus?* &c. "Cf. the Lat., Ter. Adelph. iv. 5, 22: *Quid ipsæ, quid amant?* Phorm. i. 2, 95: *Quid pœdagogus ille, qui citharistriam, Quid rei gerit?* et Cic. Tusc. i. 15: *Quid poetæ, nonne post mortem nobilitari volunt?*" D.

B **διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν**, "per maximam partem civium et per nos oratores vestris machinationibus obstantes. Per *solos oratores* servatas Athenas esse arrogantius dixisset; quare necessario etiam populi mentio fieri debebat in tali laude." *D.*

§ 20. [§ 50, p. 242.]

ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, qui me sordibus pravitatis et criminum suorum conspersit, *who has emptied, if I may say so, upon my head, all the mingled filth of his own iniquity and injustice.* **Καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων**, sc. **τῶν ἑαυτοῦ**, cf. infr. § 93 [39], **ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία.** *D.* **ἐωλοκρασία**, lit. '*a yesterday's mixture*,' from **ἔωλος**, hesternus, and **κερανύναι**. In Bekker's Anecdota, 258, the word is defined to mean **ἡ κατάχυσις τῶν ζωμῶν τῶν ἐώλων δείπνων ἐπὶ τοὺς κοιμωμένους τῶν συμπινόντων**, the trick of emptying out the bottoms of soup-tureens, &c., and other dregs and relics of last night's festival upon the guests who could not keep awake any longer. Didymus apud Harpocrat. explains this passage thus: **οὗτος χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἃ ἐκέρασε πράγματα τήμερόν μου καταχεῖ καὶ ἐμὲ πρᾶξαί φησι.** Plat. Sept. Sap. Conv. 2: **ἐνίοις ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐμμένει τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσάρεστον ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασία τις ὕβρεως ἢ ὀργῆς ἐν οἴνῳ γενομένης**; Luc. Lapith. c. 3: **πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων**, multa contumelia conspersit philosophos. *D.* || **πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν περ.**, those who were too young to remember the termination of the Phocian war and its attendant circumstances.

C **ἀπολύσασθαι.** Achilles Tatius, vi. 2: **ἵνα σοι πρὸς Θέρσανδρον ἡ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπόλυσις ᾖ.** *D.* Groddeck conjectured **ἀπολούσασθαι**, or **ἀποκλύσασθαι**; but Dissen observes that images of unusual boldness, like this before us, which an orator does not venture upon, except in angry, sarcastic passages, are not continued and kept up

throughout.—I own that I see no reason why the orator should not follow up his metaphor so far as to speak of *wiping off* or *washing off* the *foul mixture*. ‖ παρενοχλεῖσθαι, molestiam capere; *to be annoyed*. On the double augment cf. 402 (322) i § 179. ‖ καὶ τὸν εἶπέ του λέγων, dixit his verbis utens. *D.* Cf. ὡς ἔφη λέγων, *Soph.* Aj. 757: εἴτε φωνῶν, *Æsch.* Ag. 198. "Dixit verò Æsch. Ctes. p. 63, § 66, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Atque ita audiverat verba Demosthenes cum haberetur oratio; neque enim causa apparet, cur postea Æschines προφέρων pro ὀνειδίζων scripserit. Ergo Demosthenes nunc non accurate recordatur." *D.* (P. 13).

μισθωτός. Ulpian reports an absurd tale, to the effect that Demosthenes pronounced this word with the accent on the antepenultima, that the audience in surprise might exclaim μισθωτός (!). "Immo tam demum, cum edenda esset oratio, censemus a Demosthene hunc locum sic ut legitur conformatum. Placebat veteribus species extemporalitatis, ut constat, vide Wolf. ad Leptin. p. 301, veluti Cicero in Verrin. iv. 3, fingit interrogare se artificem et hunc respondere, cum tamen illa oratio non sit habita. Sic etiam Demosthenes credo hoc finxit callide, quasi revera ita factum esset. Omnino per se clarum, cum hæc oratio edenda esset, alia addita esse a Demosthene, alia omissa aut mutata." *D.* D

PAGE 14, § 22. [§ 54, p. 243.]

ἐπὶ Καιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, Ol. 110. 3. ‖ ἑλαφ. ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 175, A, B. ‖ ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων γραφήν. "Usurpant διδόναι, προσφέρειν, ἀποφέρειν γραφήν. Dicuntur autem vulgo γραφαὶ παρανόμων Thesmothetis traditæ esse, sed probabile est ad omnes archontes eas deferri potuisse, et Thesmothetas in illis locis generaliori usu vocis pro archontibus omnino dictos, cf. Meier. et Schömann. de Judic. Athen. p. 60." *D.* ‖ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς. Gr. 902, *g* (714 *b*) § 606. The greater Dionysia took place in the month *Elaphebolion* [Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 143, A]. D. remarks that it is not probable that *new tragedies*, or old ones so altered as to be virtually new, were really exhibited at the Dionysia every year, in the time of Demosthenes; since it is well known that the greatest actors of those days gained their celebrity by appearing in the plays of Sophocles, for instance, which were frequently repeated. But probably the *name* still remained, since *some* of the tragedies then exhibited would be new ones still; or, at all events, *if any new* tragedy was to be exhibited, it would be exhibited then.—τραγῳδοὶ καινοί = καινὰς τραγῳδίας εἰσάγοντες. Also τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, Æsch. Ctes. p. 58, § 34, et γεγονέναι τῶν νῦν ὄντων τραγῳδῶν. *D.* A

ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας—καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. "Post generalius verbum ἀρετῆς ponuntur specialia εὐνοίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας s. benevolentiæ et meritorum egregiorum in universam Græciam et Atheniensem populum. Supplebis igitur ad B

(P. 14). ἀνδραγαθίας iterum εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, veluti in Orat. adv. Neær. p. 1375, dicitur: μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ᾖ γενέσθαι πολίτην. Atque ut alias constructiones addam, ut Mid. p. 520, dicitur ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστος περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, et alias, sic in inscript. nr. 101, ap. Boeckh. vol. i. p. 139, legitur ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, similiter ibid nr. 105, p. 143, et alias sæpius in inscriptionibus. Etiam ἀγαθὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως dicitur." *D.* ‖ **τειχοποιός.** "It would appear that the restoration of the walls was resolved upon Ol. 110. 2, when Philip advanced against Amphissa, and Athens, apprehensive of an invasion, applied to him repeatedly for a truce. Towards the end of that year, Demosthenes was chosen by his tribe (Phylê) superintendent of the building, and still bore that office when the work, which had been suspended, was recommenced after the battle of Chæronea[1]. The superintendence of such works was considered one of the most important extraordinary duties. Æschines c. Ctes. The administration of the theatrical fund was also an office of great trust." *J.* On the θεωρικόν, cf. Handbk. Antiqq. 158. The terms describing the office and its holder were:—ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὤν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθείς. *D.* ‖ **ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν** "supplendum vides οὐκ ἐώντων τῶν νόμων, ac cum supra simpliciter dixerit τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων στεφανοῦν, nunc post interjecta quædam perspicuitatis causa opus fuit ut μή adderetur. Mox ad verba ἀλλὰ ἀνειπεῖν supple κελευόντων, quod vi oppositi eliciendum ex οὐκ ἐώντων." *D.* ‖ **τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ,** sc. εἰσόδῳ. *D.*

c **τίμημα** was the penalty proposed by the public prosecutor; the defendant was said ἀντιτιμᾶν, ἀποτιμᾶν; the judges, τιμᾶν, ἐπικρίνειν. Cf. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 9, 133, d. ‖ **κλήτορες** (more commonly κλητῆρες). ‖ **Κηφισοφῶν.** "For an account of Cephisophôn, see note on p. 7, b. At the end of the indictment, two citizens were generally mentioned by name, as witnesses that the citation [*in jus vocatio* (πρόκλησις). Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 131, a] was in due form,—hence called κλήτορες." *J.*

§ 23. [§ 55, p. 254.]

ἃ—διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, partitive gen. after ἅ. Cf. note on τοῦτό μου, p. 8, c. ‖ **τὰ γεγραμμένα** = accusationis capita. Cf. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 148, cap. ii. 4. *D.*

d **εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε—εἴτε καί.** Cf. Pract. Intr. Greek Prose, ii. p. 132, note 1. "In altero membro nunc additur καί, nunc non additur. Atque abest καί ibi, ubi paria vi membra. Ubi vero prius ex ambobus positis præfertur animo loquentis, additur καί in secundo membro. Vide statim paullo post, aut Dem. de Rhod. Lib. 193: εἴτε ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι εἴτε καὶ μή. Plat. Theæt. 168, C: καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐπισκέψαι, εἴτε ταὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἴσθησις.

[1] See Boeckh, de Archont. pseudep. p. 155. Winiewski, c 6.

Et sic innumeris in locis. Est autem καί largientis cum ironia (P. pr. si placet [= '*or if you will*;' '*or if you please*']." *D.* || τὸ 14). δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα, sc. γράψαι τοῦτο. *D.* He refers to Æsch. contr. Ctes. 58, § 31: ὁ ῥήτωρ γίγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν, μὴ προσθεὶς ἐπειδὰν δῷ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας, and p. 83, § 203: οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα ἐπειδὰν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας. *D.*

Page 15.

ἀπαρτῆν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, disjungere orationem ab A
accusatione (Lat. v.), *to make a speech that has no connexion with the impeachment; that is wide of it.* A. ἀπαρτᾶν = ἀποσπᾶν καὶ ἀποχωρίζειν. Gram. in Bek. Anecd. p. 10. Luc. Encom. Dem. 10: τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον οὐκ ἂν ἀπαρτᾶν ἐνομιζόμην, ἐν νόμῳ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὄν, ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἐπικοσμεῖν τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους. *D.* || Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις are virtually *foreign* affairs,—the affairs of the *other* states of Greece; so that πράξεις καὶ λόγοι Ἑλ. = (by a sort of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν), an *exposition* (*discussion*) of the general affairs *of Greece*. || ἐμπίπτειν, præter expectationem transire, venire ad. *D.* || τοῦ ψηφίσματος is the gen. dependent on the *substantivized* infinn. τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν (which is the *object* of διώκων), and the whole, 'the *decree's speaking and acting*,' is a condensed expression for "*the phrase* '*his speaking and acting*,' *contained in the decree*." || γεγραμμένος is here partcp. of the perfect *middle*, γράφεσθαι, to *indict*; to *charge*. 727 (585), § 362, 6; and 735 (589), § 366. || οἰκεῖος, *properly belonging to* it,—*appropriate* to it: ἀναγκαῖος is stronger, *essential* to it, *necessarily connected* with it; "*pertinent and necessary to this suit*." L. || προαιρέσεις = (virtually) '*departments*,' i. e., *departments* between which *a choice* is to be made; not here (as *Pape* translates it), *political principles* or parties. || δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι, 1071 (822, *a*) § 676, 2, *a*, 3.

§ 24. [§ 60, p. 245.]

πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. "Until Ol. 106. 2, when Demosthenes first B
entered on public life. See Dionys. Epist. ad Amm. c. 4." *J.* || προῦλαβε, κ.τ.λ., i. e. Amphipolis, taken Ol. 105. 3; Pydna, Ol. 105. 4; Potidæa, Ol. 106. 1. The first public oration delivered by Dem. was that on the new distribution of the Symmoriæ, Ol. 106. 2. "Sed etiam quæ post Ol. 106. 2 cepit Philippus, hic non persequitur omnia. Nam Thraciæ oppida legatorum culpa amissa supra ostendit, de Halonnesi vero et Peparethi rebus alios decreta proposuisse contendit, quare etiam hæc ad oratorem non pertinent. Sic restant ea, in quibus Demosthenis *primariæ partes fuerunt*, quæ Demosthenis opera impedita sunt, atque hoc est quod dicit." *D.* || ἐάσω, omittam, prætermittam. || εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ, ad me pertinere. On the retention of the *accent* on ἐμέ, cf. 84, *a* (1073, *a*) i. § 64, 3, A. || ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην = [sc. ἐπὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα, implied by πολιτεύεσθαι. || καὶ διεκωλύθη, sc. Φίλιππος· the *object* is (*not* λαβεῖν καὶ κατέχειν), but the *substantivized* neut. pron. ἄ. [διεκωλύθη ταῦτα, πολλά, &c., being a regular Greek

(P. 15). construction. Gr. 963 (761).] ‖ **ὑπέχειν** (= *sustinere*) **λόγων**, *to stand* (or *undergo*) *an enquiry into them:* = *to consent to give an account of them.* ‖ **τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών**, tantum præfatus. *D.* 1) τοσοῦτον here relates to what *follows*, against the general rule [1011 (793) § 655, 6] ; 2) ὑπειπών = *præfatus*, occurs in Thuc. i. 34, 4 : πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν [= προείπομεν, Sch.], τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν. ‖ **πλεονέκτημα** (opp. ἐλάττωμα), *an advantage.* ‖ **οὐ τισίν** must be construed retrictively ; *not* merely *some.* ‖ **φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν.** Diod. xvi. 54 : τοιαύτη φορά τις προδοτῶν ὑπῆρξε τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Æsch. Ctes. 87, § 234 : φορὰ ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν. So *novorum proventum scelerum*, Lucan. Pharsal. ii. 61. *D.* With θεοῖς ἐχ., cf. Hor. *Dis inimice senex* (Sat, 2, 3, 123). ‖ **καὶ πρότερον, κ.τ.λ.** Jn. καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας καὶ στασιαστικῶς, "vide adverbia scite separata ad majorem emphasin." *D.*

C **διδούς**, not *giving*, but *offering*, or *proposing to give ; making offers ; making promises.* ‖ **κωλύειν**, *epexegetical* infin. : 1051 (812) § 669, β. ‖ **προσῆκον ἦν—ποιεῖν**, 790 (632) § 858, 3. ‖ **τῆς πολιτείας**, gen. dependent on ἐνταῦθα, 857, *d* (709) § 527. ‖ **πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν.** [Cf. Gr. Syn. 361.] There does not, however, seem to be any essential difference here : cf. 19, 102 : ὅτι πράξει ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσει. *Wst.* also compares from this Or. ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων (§ 72 [p. 17, B]) ; σείψασθε καὶ θεωρήσατε (§ 252 [106, C]) ; δύνασθαι καὶ ἰσχύειν (§ 321, p. 68, A). ‖ **ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει.** "The character of the Thessalians stood very low at Athens, on account of their political inconstancy (στάσεως μεστοί : Isocrates, Ep. ad Phil.), as well as the laxity of their morals. (See Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi.) Plato tells us (Crito, c. 15), that in Thessaly there reigned the greatest disorder and the most unbridled licentiousness (πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία). It must also be remembered, that in the Persian war the Thessalians, as well as their neighbours, the Dolopians, had submitted to the Persians, and fought in the army of Xerxes against their countrymen. See Herod. vii. 132, 185." *J.*

D **ἀναιρεῖν**, evertere. ‖ **ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει.** Æsch. contr. Ctes. 66, § 90 : ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἰσόμεγον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσετε. *D.* The use of the future *indicative* (the form of *direct* narration, and even in that, more *objective* than ἐὰν κωλύσῃ), describes the *certainty* of the event. ‖ **ὡς ἔοικεν**, "opinor, hoc est: profecto. Neque enim dubitat, sed contendit ; ut non solum modestiæ causa, sed etiam non raro in affectu, ironia, sarcasmo dubitanter loquuntur qui vel maxime affirmant." *D.* ‖ **τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι.** Μερίδος τινὸς γενέσθαι, "se applicare ad aliquam partem, rarius est apud Aticos, usitatius apud seriores et patres. Notavit Lobeck. ad Phryn. p. 3." *B.*—τῆς ποίας . . . ; Gr. 1347.

Page 16.

A **χεῖρον — ἀπηλλάχασι.** "Æsch. contr. Ctes. p. 76, § 158 ;

οὔτε γὰρ πόλις οὔτ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. Alienum esse hunc intransitivum usum verbi ab Isocrate notavit Baiterus ad Panegyr. § 140." *D.* "For an account of the angry feeling which prevailed among the states of the Peloponnesus, and which was fostered by Philip, see Demosth. Orat. de F. Leg." *J.* (P. 16).

|| ἐναντιωθέντων. Ἐναντιοῦσθαι, se opponere, has *aor.* 1 *pass.*, 509 (411) i. § 313, 2. "In the sentence, ὅμως ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία, Bekker's best manuscript does not contain the word ὅμως, and most of the others omit the οὐκ. Schäfer therefore rejects both these particles. According to this reading, the sense is: 'Some blame and reproach would be deservedly incurred by those who resisted his proceedings.'" *J.* D. says Demosthenes *could* not have allowed that any real blame would have attached to those who had stood up manfully for their rights; but Dem. does not mean to allow that they would have been justly blamed, except on the ground of *worldly prudence*. || ἀξίωμα, dignity. || ἡγεμονία. The Thessalians had a kind of *Hegemony* over the other Thessalian states. || πολιτείας. Philip established tyrants wherever he could do so; for instance, he imposed creatures of his own upon the cities of Eubœa.

§ 25. [§ 66, p. 246.]

προσῆκε. Cf. n. on προσῆκον ἦν, p. 112 c, cf. ἔδει, just below. a

|| τοῦτο, viz., it being *at Athens* that he is to give advice on political matters. συνῳδειν—ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα. The constructions of συνειδέναι when the object is *another* person (or personified thing) are (1) dat. of subst. and partcp. (2) acc. of both; and (3) rarely dat. of subst. acc. of partcp. In Gr. 1103, an instance of (2) should be added: e. g., συνίσασι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν τετυραννευκότας, τοὺς μὲν . . . . . ἀνῃρημένους, κ.τ.λ. (Is. de pac. 113.) || πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν, κ.τ.λ. By thus making their expenditure, both in money and in men's lives, a matter of exultation, Dem. (observes *D.*) overthrows at one blow, like a man of genius, all the long verbose complaints of Æschines about the unjust share of the expense with which Athens had been saddled, when she aided Eubœa, Byzantium, and Thebes, p. 66, § 91 sqq., and p. 74, § 143.

τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, 910, 951 (719) § 584, 2. "Philip c lost one of his eyes during the siege of Methônê, in Bottiæa, of which he gained possession whilst the Athenians were engaged in the occupation of the Chersonese and the Phocian war. Diodor. xvi. 34. The other injuries mentioned in the text were, for the most part, received on his march homewards from the Scythian expedition (Ol. 110. 1). Justin (ix. 3) says, 'revertenti ab Scythia Triballi Philippo occurrunt; negant, se transitum daturos, ni portionem accipiant prædæ. Hinc jurgium et mox prælium, in quo ita in femore vulneratus est Philippus, ut per corpus ejus equus interficeretur. Quum omnes occisum putarent, præda amissa est.' In his outline of a declamation against Philip, Libanius says, 'His person is so marred, that the very sight of him seems an evil

(P. 16). portent. He is lame, has lost one of his eyes, and is maimed in many of his members.'" *J.* || **τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα**, 910 (719) § 584, 2. On the acc. **κλεῖν**, cf. 165 (111) i. § 92, obs. 3. || **πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελίσθαι**, h. e. ut paucis dicam, quamvis partem. Plat. Theæt. p. 178: **λευκῶν, βαρέων, κούφων, οὐδενὸς ὅτου οὐ τῶν τοιούτων.** *D.* **Πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη** (opt. of *indef. frequency*) **μέρος**: *one* reason that leads a writer to place the so-called *antecedent* subst. in the relative clause, is the wish to give emphasis to an adjective by *isolating* it at the beginning of a clause (*D.*, who compares Arist. Ran. 889: **ἕτεροι γάρ εἰσιν, οἷσιν εὔχομαι θεοῖς.** Plat. Theæt. 157, e: **οἶσθα γάρ που, ὅτι ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ὁμολογουμένως ἐλέγχεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὃν ἄρτι διῆμεν λόγον.**) || **παρελίσθαι**, auferre. || **ὥστε—ζῇν**, dummodo viveret. **ὥστε** = *ea conditione* ut—. || **τῷ λοιπῷ**, h.e. reliquo corpore. *D.* || **ἐν Πέλλῃ.** "Strabo (Excerpt. vii. p. 330), 'Pella, originally a small town, was greatly enlarged by Philip, who had been brought up there.'—It continued to be the residence of the Macedonian kings. Pompon. Mel. ii. 3." *J.*

D **αὐτεπάγγελτος**, one who offers himself, proclaims his readiness to do any thing. The two words (**αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντάς**) denote those who *eagerly volunteer* to do any thing, the notion being doubly expressed for emphasis. || **Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν—ἠδικεῖτο.** "Amphipolis and Pydna were taken by Philip in the second half of the 105th Olympiad. [See Chronological Table, p. 82.] Probably in these cities, as in many others, there was a Macedonian party, which no doubt expected a reward for the services rendered to Philip during the siege; but (according to Ulpian), they were miserably deceived. 'No sooner,' says that writer, 'were the gates of Amphipolis thrown open to the king, than the traitors were thunderstruck at hearing these words, If you were false to your own countrymen, how can I suppose that you will be faithful to me?' But this story wants confirmation. Diodorus, xvi. 8, says, 'Those who were unfriendly to him he expelled from the city; the others he treated with great kindness.' Ulpian again tells us, that 'there were also traitors in Pydna, who, when they found that Philip intended to punish them, took refuge in the temple which had been built in honour of his father, Amyntas. Philip promised to spare their lives, but having enticed them out, put them all to death.' Libanius says, 'He mingled murder with his treaty (**σπονδαῖς**).' For an account of Serrion and Doriscus, see note on § 10, c. Peparēthus [now Skopelo] was an island of the Ægean sea, situated eastward of Halonnēsus [now Khliodromia], north-east of Eubœa. Its fate was closely connected with that of its neighbour." *J.* Vömel holds that Halonnēsus was taken between Ol. 106 or 107, which would account for its mention in connexion with Philip's earlier conquests; but Winiewski places it in Ol. 108. 4 (B. C. 345). Peparēthus was overrun by Philip's troops probably in Ol. 109. 3 (B. C. 342). *D.* || **οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν, οἶδα**, i. e. sic me geram quasi omnino nesciam facta. Cf. Plat. Theæt. 173, c: **καὶ ταῦτα πάντα οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν, οἶδεν**, i. e.

plane non curat, and Dion. Chrys. Or. lxxx. p. 436. Rsk. *μήτ'* (P. *ἀκούων μηδενὸς, μήτ' ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἰδέναι νομίζων αὐτούς.* *D.* 16).

Page 17.

Εὐβούλου. "Eubūlus and Aristophôn are mentioned as pro- A
moters of an alliance with Thebes. The first is reckoned by Plutarch (Vit. Phoc. c. 7) together with Aristophôn, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hypereides, among the most distinguished orators of that period. Demosthenes, also (in his speech against Leptines), classes Aristophôn among the 'powerful orators' (*τοῖς δεινοῖς λέγειν.*) He used to boast of having been seventy-five times charged with violations of the law, and as often acquitted. [The *latter* assertion is a mistake of Ulpian's.] Æsch. contr. Ctes. 1 94, 81 [only says, *γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε*[1].] Diopeithes, who is reckoned by Plutarch among the Athenian generals, was sent out to the Chersonese in command of a body of armed colonists (Ol. 108. 2)." *J.* ‖ **εὐχερῶς,** parum considerate. *D.* ‖ **ἐν—Ὠρεῷ.** "For the notices of Eubœa and Oreos, see below, pages 19, B, and 20, D. In Olymp. 109. 2, Philistides was placed by Philip as tyrant in Oreos; and at a somewhat earlier period, Clitarchus in Eretria, on the strait opposite Attica." *J.* In Ol. 109. 1 (B.C. 344), Philip made an attempt on Megara. Perilaus was at the head of a party that favoured the Macedonian interest, but the resolute bearing of Athens defeated the plan. ‖ **ἃς μὲν—ἃς δέ,** 1218, *b.*

καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα B
ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν; Soph. Electr. 1197: *οὐδ' ὑπαρήξων, οὔθ' ὁ κωλύσων πάρα;* ‖ **τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην.** "'Mysian booty' was a proverbial expression for any unprotected property. Harpagus refers the phrase to the time of Telephus, and the condition of the Mysians at that period." *J.* ‖ **ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων.** Plat. de Rep. ii. 369: *ἀλλὰ μὴν πρώτη γε καὶ μεγίστη τῶν χρειῶν ἡ τῆς τρυφῆς παρασκευὴ τοῦ εἶναί τε καὶ ζῆν ἕνεκα.* Orat. pr. Phormion.: *Τιμοδήμῳ τῷ νῦν ἔτ' ὄντι καὶ ζῶντι.* Lucret. iii. 1059: *vivo atque videnti.* *D.* ‖ **εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι.** *Τινά* must not be taken in immediate agreement with *κωλυτήν*, which is 'the *complement of the predicate.*' D.

§ 27. [§ 73, p. 249.]

ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους. "Fuit annus Ol. 109. 4. cum Nico- C
machus archon esset. Quare Neocles pseudeponymus archon est, h. e. ut Boeckhio videtur, scriba secundum prytaniam." *D.*

ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπήν, ut frumentum ex Helles- D
ponto Lemnum portandum comitarentur præsidii causa, ne diriperetur. *D.* ‖ **καταγήοχεν.** On *ἀγήοχα*, perf. of *ἄγω*, cf. note on § 16, B. *κατάγειν ναῦς* = intercipere et ab-

[1] See the Life of *Aristophôn*, by Arnold Schæfer, in Schneidewin's Philologus, Vol. i.

P). 17). ducere naves. *D.* || **ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν,** "et certiores faciant regem, si errore hæc sint admissa, populum Atheniensem nihil esse incusaturum. Est igitur **ἐροῦσιν** supplendum, eliciendum illud e verbo **διαλέξονται.**" *D.* || **πλημμελεῖν,** propr. (1) incomposite me gero: (2) improbe ago, pecco. **πλημμελής** (**μέλος**) of what violates *harmony*; hence of what offends against the rule of *moderation, fitness, propriety.* Pl. Crit. 106, B: **δίκη δὲ ὀρθὴ τὸν πλημμελοῦντα ἐμμελῆ ποιεῖν.** || **λαβών,** sc. **πεποίηκε ταῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντας.** *D.*

PAGE 18.

A **ἀγνωμονεῖν,** propr. = ignoranter et imperite ago. But A. Steph. in voc. remarks, that "quum ap. Plut. tum apud alios elegantissimos quosque verbi potestas et prægnans est et generalis, inique, immoderate, improbe me gero." It occurs below, § 39 and § 104, c; but, with these exceptions, is principally found in later writers. || **ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπασταλμένος,** sive qui delegavit Amyntam, sive delegatus prætor. *D.* || **καὶ λέγειν.** Vömel incloses the **καί** within brackets. **Λεγέιν** indicandum (Vöm.); *they are to say so*; are to *report* (*this*). Not exactly inf. for imperative, but inf. of an *order*, dependent on the notion of *ordering* implied in the rules laid down, or it may depend on **καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις,** as inf. of *purpose.* || **τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.** "The archon Neocles mentioned in this and the following psephisma is a misnomer; the events recorded in them having occurred in Olymp. 109. 4, when Nicomachus was archon. See Böckh. de Archont. Pseudep." *J.*

§ 28. [§ 75, p. 250.]

Ἡγήσιππος. Hegesippus, nicknamed **ὁ Κρωβύλος** (Æsch. 1, 64), was an advocate of the Rhocian alliance, and a zealous member of the war-party at Athens. As such, he was ill-received by Philip in the famous embassy.

§ 29. [§ 75, p. 250.]

B **ἐχρημάτισαν,** verba fecerunt. *D.* || **Ἀριστοφῶν.** Aristophôn drew up the *psephisma*, after the Prytanes and Stratēgi had reported to the '*house*' the decision of the assembly. D. thinks that he was the *Epistates* of the '*proedri non contribules*,' for Colyttus belonged to the tribe *Ægeïs*; and the prytany was that of the tribe *Hippothoontis* (the third prytany of the year). *D.*

§ 31. [77, p. 250, fin.]

D **πρόφασιν μὲν—βοηθήσοντα δέ.** The notion opposed to **πρόφασιν** (*in pretence, under the colour of* —) is, *in fact, really* (reapse). "Cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 10 and 40: *Veterani in Rhœtiam mittuntur specie defendendæ provinciæ, cæterum ut arellerentur castris.*" *D.* || **εἰς Λῆμνον.** Lemnos then belonged to the Athenians. Æsch. de Fals. Leg. 37, § 72: **Λήμνου, Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου, τῶν ἡμετέρων.**

κτημάτων. It was an article of the peace of Antalcidas: ταύτας, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, cf. Xenoph. Hist. Gr. v. 1, 31. (P. 18). This island supplied the city with corn. — Selymbria, situated on the Propontis south of Byzantium, was originally an ally of Athens, but since Ol. 107 of Byzantium. In Ol. 109. 4 it was besieged by Philip, in the hope that its conquest would prepare the way for the capture of the other cities on the Propontis." *J.* Dem. de Rhod. lib. p. 198: φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν σκοπεῖτε, τί δή ποτ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οὐδείς ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων ἐκείνους μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Χαλκηδόνα, ἣ βασιλέως μέν ἐστιν, εἶχετε δ' αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς, ἐκείνους δ' οὐδαμόθεν προσῆκεν· μηδὲ Σηλυμβρίαν, πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ σύμμαχον οὖσαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς συντελῆ ποιεῖν καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρίζειν τὴν τούτων χώραν παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι γέγραπται; ‖ συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ, mandata sunt. Hesych. T. ii. c. 1305: συνέταξεν, ἐνετείλατο, παρήγγειλεν. *D.*

PAGE 19.

συντετελέσθαι, the inf. *perf.* denotes that they wished the *speedy* A *accomplishment* of their object. D. compares Dem. de Chersones. p. 91, § 3: περὶ τούτων δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι. ‖ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιοῦτο πράσσειν ἔσεσθαι. Conf. de Fals. Leg. p. 386: καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχίτλιον τὶς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσόδους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις γεγενῆσθαι, ε.τ.λ. *D.* The king intimates his opinion that the magistrates and others whom he accuses of endeavouring by all the means in their power to bring about a rupture of the peace between him and Athens, of having their own private ends to serve,—of making money by the war. "Si Æschinis orationem comparamus, is aliam omnino causam ruptæ pacis affert p. 65, § 83, cujus nulla mentio apud Demosthenem. Sed Demosthenes sic respondet ad ista, ut hæc veriora opponat, nec opus est ut statuamus Æschinem in edita demum oratione posuisse quod affert factum." *D.*

§ 32. [§ 79, p. 251.]

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρόσβασιν ἔγραψα. Ol. 109. B 2. *D.* ‖ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, cum primum rex Peloponnesum irrepere moliretur. *D.* ‖ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι, Proconnesus, Tenedus, &c., cf. § 302 [119], &c. *D.* "The reference here must be to the embassy mentioned in the third Philippic, by means of which Demosthenes checked the attempt of Philip to 'steal into' the Peloponnesus. This took place Ol. 109. 2. At an earlier period Philip had sent mercenaries for the protection of his numerous friends in the Peloponnesian cities. Hence the sanguinary proceedings in Elis, Arcadia, and Argos. (Dem. Orat. de F. Legat.)—The enterprize against Eubœa is placed by Winiewski in the spring or summer of the third year of Ol. 109. In the following

(P. 19). year the Athenians expelled the tyrants whom Philip had placed in Eretria and Oreus. (Diod. 16. 74.) Clitarchus was the tyrant of Eretria; Philistides, of Oreus.—An account of the manner in which Philip attacked the cities of the Propontis is found in Diod. 16, 74, and 75, 76." *J.*

D καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις αὐτῶν, patronus eorum eras, cf. Bekker. Anecd. i. p. 163 (*D.*); *and you acted the part of a proxenus to them.* He was not *really* the *proxenus* of Eubœa, but only acted as if he were. ‖ οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν implies that it was through *him* that nothing of all this was accomplished. *D.* ‖ ὃς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, κ.τ.λ. Vide Æsch. contr. Ctes. p. 85, § 218. *D.* "In his speech against Ctesiphôn, Æschines justifies himself from the charge of seldom taking a part in public affairs, by attributing this seeming apathy to the moderation of his wishes. 'I am satisfied with little,' he says, 'and therefore do not seek to improve my condition by unworthy means. I am silent; and only speak after due consideration, because I am never urged to speak by the want of money; but you,—you are silent when you have received payment, and begin to bawl when the money is expended. You open your mouth, not when you think good, nor when you will,—but whenever your paymasters please.' Gellius relates (xi. 9) that Demosthenes once asked the actor, Aristodēmus, what salary he received, and that the latter replied, 'One talent.' 'Why,' retorted Demosthenes, 'I get more than that for holding my tongue.' The same [foolish] story is related, with a few circumstantial variations, by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators, apud Plutarch. t. ii." *J.* ‖ ἀτιμώσαντες. If he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, he would so far incur an *ἀτιμία*, that he would be prevented from ever again instituting a similar prosecution to that in which he had failed.

Page 20.

A δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου. Is the *δεύτερον κήρυγμα*, that which Ctesiphôn's bill ordered to be made; or that of *Aristonīcus?* Now it *cannot* be that of Ctesiphôn, unless Demosthenes contradicts himself in this very oration, for he asserts that the decrees of *Demomelēs* and *Hypereides* contained the very same words and syllables as the former one of Aristonīcus, and as that of Ctesiphôn, the subject of prosecution. I think that D. is right in conjecturing that Demosthenes had been already crowned before the decree of Aristonīcus, but that the words in which it was drawn up were not the same; the ἤδη at least favours this opinion, and the τούτου (= *ejus de quo agitur*) is used just as it is immediately below of the same decree (τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα). The meaning is, then, that when Aristonīcus drew up his decree in the very same words, to a syllable, with that of Ctesiphôn, *and even that was already his second proclamation*, &c. Moreover, the *position* of the clause before οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχ. is *conclusive* against its reference to *Ctesiphôn's* decree; how could the orator say that, when Aristonīcus proposed a decree, &c., and [so] *the present proclamation was his second*

proclamation, Æschines, who was present, neither objected to its passing, nor impeached the mover of it? The clause must relate to the *same time* as the silence of Æschines; and thus γιγνομένου is right; it was when they *were proposing* to honour the orator with a crown, that Æschines had an occasion to object to the terms of the proposed decree, if it was illegal. (P. 20).

§ 33. [§ 77, p. 250, *fin.*]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος. "The name of the Archon is a mistake. Aristonīcus brought forward his motion in Ol. 109. 4, when Nicomachus was Archon[1]." *J.* Moreover it is quite unusual to add the *name* of the Archon's father. Böckh thinks that Chærondas was the scribe of the prytany, and that his father's name is added to distinguish him from the *Archon Chærondas*. ‖ γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος. *Gamelión* extended from our Jan. 4th, to Feb. 3rd, so that the ἕκτη ἀπιόντος was the 25th Jan. (*Br.*); rather the 26th, since the year being the sixteenth of the fifth cycle of Meton, the month had only twenty-nine days. The deliverance of Eubœa was then a very recent event (*D.*). ‖ Φρεάρριος. Φρεάρριοι δῆμος Ἀθήνησι τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Φρεάρου ἐπισήμου ἥρωος. ὁ δημότης Φρεάρριος. (*Harpocr.*) ‖ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, a very common formula in such decrees. Cf. below the decree of the Byzantians. — χρείας, *needs* = *services*.—πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, 1476, *c.* § 759, 2. Observe the trimeter Iambic, ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους.

ἐτιμελεῖσθαι, dep. Mid. c. aor. 1 of the passive form, 509 (411), i. § 312, 2, i. ‖ πρυταν. φυλήν. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 105, A. The *ten ἀγωνοθέται* were also called ἀθλοθέται, cf. Handbk. 145, A. B

§ 34. [§ 85, p. 254.]

ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδε . . . ; *an est quisquam*—qui *sciat*? 1248 (923), § 826. ‖ χλευασμός, *jeering*. χλευάζειν, from χλεύη, according to Valckenär, from χέλυς = χεῖλος, to frame the lips to an expression of scoffing or scorn. χλευάζειν καὶ σκώπτειν, Arist. Rhet. 22. καταγελᾶν καὶ χλ., Pl. Eryx. 397. ‖ ἃ—συμβήσεσθαι. "These words refer to the last portion of the prosecutor's speech, especially to c. 83." *J.* ‖ ὡς ἐτέρως. "Respondet Latino *secus*. Similis oppositio infra § 92, A: εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, — τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων —. Utitur nostro loco Valckenārius Diatr. Euripid. p. 112, C, ubi hunc euphemismum illustrat." *S.* ‖ φαίνομαι — τετυχηκώς, *I am seen to have obtained*. 1117, 8 (848, 6), § 684, obs. 2, *c.* ‖ καὶ οὐ, 1444, i. C

§ 36. [§ 86, p. 254.]

οὐκοῦν, 1495 (1053, *o*), § 791, obs. ‖ νικᾶν λέγων καὶ γράφων = perferre sententias et rogationes. ‖ τῷ νικᾶν—τῷ

[1] See Boeckh. de Archont. Pseudep. p. 139. Winiewski. p. 161, 183.

P.) **καταπραχθῆναι — τῷ θυσίας πεποιῆσθαι.** Observe the *asyndeton*
20). which adds (as D. observes) emphasis to *really weighty* assertions of this kind, by giving to each its distinct and solemn enunciation.

D **προσόδους**, supplications. Since these precede the sacrifices in order of time, we have here a *ὕστερον πρότερον*; as below *θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί.*

§ 36. [§ 87, p. 254.]

ἐπειδὴ—ἐξηλάθη. See "Chron. Table of Events," Ann. 341, B.C. (p. 84.) ‖ **κἂν διαῤῥαγῶσί τινες τούτων.** *Διαῤῥαγῆναι* (= rumpi invidiâ vel indignatione), *to burst.* ‖ **ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμόν.** An *ἐπιτειχισμός* [munitio in agro hostili, Bétant, Lex. Thuc.] is properly a *fortified castle*, or other *stronghold*, that serves as a place from which a garrison may issue forth from time to time to harass a city, and thus place it, as it were, in a state of siege [*πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτειχισμῷ ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων*, Thuc. vii. 28]. Here it is used in *a wider sense*, for any strong place, to serve as a point from which others may be attacked. "Harpocrat. s. v. *ἐπιτείχισμα*: *Ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπιτειχιζόμενον κατά τινων χωρίον, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι οἱ τειχίσαντες κακῶς δυνήσονται ποιεῖν τοὺς ἐπιτειχισθέντας. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιτειχισμὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὥσπερ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. Ἐπιτείχισμα*, supra p. 248 [p. 17, A]." *Br.* ‖ **σίτῳ—ἐπεισάκτῳ.** "The enormous quantities of corn that Athens imported were principally drawn from the rich corn-growing districts on the Pontus Euxinus and the Propontis, and particularly from the Chersonesus Taurica." *J.* ‖ **ἐπείσακτος**, *imported*, opp. *ἔμφυτος, ἐγχώριος, grown at home.* ‖ **ὁρῶν — βουλόμενος — παρελθών.** Observe the *asyndeton* in the juxtaposition of the participles. D. distinguishes two cases of this: (1), when the participles stand, as here, in *different relations* to the principal verb: "cum videret—cupiens fieri—exercitu in Thraciam ducto oppugnavit Byzantium," or (2) when they stand in the *same* relation; the *asyndeton* then implies something of *passionate vehemence, strong emotion*, or the like.

Page 21.

A **οὐκ ἤθελον** = *refused.* ‖ **οὐδ' ἔφασαν τὴν συμ. πεποιῆσθαι** = and said, moreover, that they *had not* formed their alliance with him *for such* purposes: *ἐπί* of *condition.* — *πεποιῆσθαι* is perf. *Mid.* *ποιεῖσθαι συμμαχίαν.* ‖ **χάρακα βαλέσθαι πρὸς τῇ πόλει.** *χάραξ* (*a vine-pole*) here used for *χαράκωμα* (which several editors read here) = *vallum*, a palisaded mound and rampart. So often in Polyb. "The military engines were not before *brought up* to the town, but placed at a distance, in readiness to be used, if it should prove necessary to besiege the place." *D.* ‖ **μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας.** Dem. Phil. iii. 115: *ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον — λύειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανῆ-*

ματα ἱφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν. D. ‖ **προσῆκε**, 790 (632) § 858, 3. ‖ **κωλύσας** — **ἀλλοτριωθῆναι**, from *being alienated*, sc. *from you*. **Κωλύειν** and its compounds are *very frequently* followed by *acc. c. inf.* without a neg. Cf. App. ii. (i.) to Olynth. Orat. ‖ **τὸ ὑμεῖς**, i. e., *when I say 'you,'* = the word *you*, 623, *k* (511, *k*) § 372, *c*. ‖ **ἁπλῶς**, nullâ aliâ ratione habitâ (*D*)., *unreservedly, entirely*. (P. 21).

ἀλλὰ μήν, 1444, *t* (1053, *a*) § 728, *d*. ‖ **οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν**. The *οὐκέτι* refers to a preceding *series* of points which *were* to be so ascertained, but states that this is to be so *no longer*; the enumeration has *now* arrived at a fact proved by experience. So *non jam* in Lat. ‖ **ὁ τότε ἐνεστὼς πόλεμος**, the war which then commenced. The peace was formally dissolved early in Ol. 110. 1 (B. C. 340), after Byzantium was besieged. See Chronol. Table, p. 84. ‖ **ἄνευ τοῦ — ἐνεγκεῖν**, *besides bringing you*, i. e. *without reckoning* that. Hermann reads, *ἄνευ τοῦ ἀλόγου* (*besides the senselessness of it, to say nothing of its senselessness*), in Lycurg. Leocr. 144, R. (for *ἄνευ τοῦ λόγου*, the usual reading.) So *χωρίς*, Pl. Apol. 35, B, *χωρὶς δὲ τῆς δόξης, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι δεῖσθαι τοῦ δικαστοῦ*. (Cf. Witzschel. ad Soph. Antig. v. 4.) ‖ **ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέρους καὶ εὐωνοτέρους**, *in a greater abundance and cheapness of all the necessaries of life*; "*supplied you with all the necessaries of life in greater abundance, and at cheaper rates.*" L. *ἀφθονωτέροις, εὐωνοτέρους*, are *predicative* [681 (550) § 459, 1]. ‖ **διῆγεν ὑμᾶς** = *fecit ut viveretis, caused you to live*. Cf. Isoc. Nicocl. 38, Bekk.: *τοὺς ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντας μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους*. Luc. Phalarid. Pr. cap. 3: *καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐν θεαῖς καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοθοινίαις διῆγον. D.* ‖ **οἱ χρηστοί**, ironically: *ἐπί* marks the *condition* under which they worked; and so virtually the object they had in view. The hopes alluded to are their expectations from Alexander. ‖ **ὧν διαμάρτοιεν** is a wish; *of which hopes may they be disappointed!* ‖ **μετάσχοιεν — μὴ μεταδοῦεν**. Observe the weighty asyndeton. Cf. n. on § 35. ‖ **ὧν προήρηνται** = *τούτων ἃ προῄρηνται, quæ ipsi instituerunt*, i. e. the *slavery* which will be the final result of their line of policy. B

§ 37. [§ 90, p. 255.]

ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. Byzantium was founded by the people of *Megara*, Ol. 30. We may assume, therefore, that the gods of Megara were worshipt at Byzantium also, and, consequently, that the *ἱερομνάμων* (who, as is plain from the decree itself, was the *eponymus*, i. e. gave his name to the year), was the priest of (Neptune) Poseidôn, as at Megara. In the same way the Argives distinguished their years by the succession of their priestesses, *Juno Argiva*. D. ‖ **Βοσπορίχου**. Dor. gen. for *ου*. ‖ **ἁλία**, Dor. term for *ἐκκλησία* (with which prob. the Attic name of the court of *Ἡλιαία* is connected). ‖ **λαβὼν ῥήτραν** = *προβούλευμα* (Müller): al. † veniam loquendi: *ἐξουσίαν τοῦ εἰπεῖν*. ‖ **ἂν τι τοῖς προγεγενημένοις καιροῖς εἰνοίας** *Dem.* C

(P. 21). διατελεῖ. Observe the *present* (implying that the good feeling which *has* existed, *still exists*). So in other inscriptions, e. g. in Böckh's Corp. Inscriptt. ii. p. 282, no. 2353: ἐπειδὴ Κλεόμηλος Κλεοβούλου .... ἐν τε τῷ ἔμπροσθε χρόνῳ εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Καρθαιέων. But διατετέλεκεν is *also* found (e. g. in the *Deliac* Inscript. Böckh. no. 2347, p. 276. *D.* || συγγενέσι Περινθίοις. Perinthus was colonized by a party of Megarians and Samians. || πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας. See above, n. on § 33. || ἐπ' ἀναστάσει, ad excidium, *to destroy it.* So ἀναστῆσαι, to destroy, πόλιν, &c. || πλοίοις. So *Wst.* Others read the older form, πλοίοισιν, which Schæf. says is not *peculiar* to the Ionic dialect. || ὁπλίτας. The Byzantians were probably deficient in heavy-armed troops, light-armed troops being sufficient for them in their wars with the neighbouring barbarians. || ἁμέ = ἡμᾶς. || ἀποκατέστασε (= ἀποκατέστησε) restituit.

D ἐπιγαμία, jus connubii. || ἔγκτασις γῆς καὶ οἰκιῶν, jus acquirendi et possidendi agros et domos in civitate aliena. *D.* ἔγκτημα denotes in Athenian law an estate possessed by a proprietor (called with reference to it ἐγκεκτημένος) in another δῆμος. "This passage is an enumeration of all the privileges accorded by one state to another, either in virtue of mutual agreements, or as marks of respect and gratitude. The right of contracting marriages (ἐπιγαμία) is classed by Xenophon (Hist. Græc. v. 2, 19) with that of acquiring landed property (ἔγκτησις), and by Demosthenes (page 43, B) with that of forming alliances offensive and defensive (συμμαχία). || πόθοδον (= πρόσοδον) ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν (πρὸς τὴν βουλήν), κ.τ.λ. The meetings of the assembly and the senate, or great council, were always preceded by a sacrifice; the privilege of being admitted to an audience first after the completion of the sacrifice, was an honorary distinction, conferred upon a nation for services received from it. || ἀλειτουργήτους πασᾶν τᾶν λειτουργᾶν, *exempt from all the state burdens*, or 'liturgies.' [Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. § 52. On the gen. cf. 846 (703) § 529, 2. || στᾶσαι (= στῆσαι), *to erect.* || τὸν Δᾶμον στεφανούμενον is in *app.* to the εἰκόνας. "Statues of countries and nations are often mentioned. Pausanias (i. 1, 3) saw a Demos by Leochares in the Piræus, and another by Lyson at the same place (i. 3, 5). The most celebrated was an allegorical figure of the Athenian Demos by Parrhasius. See Plin. 35, 36, 5. A Demos of the Rhodians, crowned by the Demos of the Syracusans, was set up by Hiero and Gelo in the Deigma of Rhodes. Polybius, v. 88." *J.*

PAGE 22, § 38. [§ 92, p. 256.]

A The cities of the Thracian Chersonese, which passed this decree, were *Sestus*, *Eleus*, *Madytus*, and *Alopeconnēsus*. After the siege of Selymbria (Ol. 109. 4), Philip entered the Thracian Chersonese, which, though belonging to the Athenians, he had been for some time undermining. On the formal rupture of the peace between him and the Athenians (Ol. 110. 1), he began at once to lay waste the country, and assault the towns; but the timely arrival of the Athenians

saved the cities, with Perinthus and Byzantium. *Eleus* is mentioned in the speech against Aristocrates, p. 675 : it was on the lower part of the Hellespont, Madytus being a little above it ; Alopēconnēsus was on a promontory of the mainland, looking towards Imbros, but to the north-east of it. || **ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα.** It is obviously impossible that by *a talent of gold* we can here understand an amount of gold *equal in weight* to a silver talent, or even an amount of gold *equal in value* to a silver talent. Cf. Böckh (Public Econ. Athens, p. 25). His opinion is, that the talents must have been "small talents of six drachmas of gold." The crown would even then have been of considerable weight, i. e. of 360 drachmas. This was also the opinion of J. F. Gronovius. The practice arose, perhaps (says Böckh), "as has been conjectured, because this was the value of a talent of *copper*, the ratio of gold to copper being as 1000 to 1" (p. 25). — **ἀπό** = *ex*, as in Hdt. vii. 65. *D.* **καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν, κ.τ.λ.** The inscription upon it would be *χάριτι καὶ δήμῳ Ἀθηναίων, to gratitude and the Athenian people.* (P. 22).

παραίτιος γέγονε. "The old reading was *μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν πράττειν γέγονε* Χερρονησίταις. In some MSS., Reiske found *πράττειν αἴτιος γέγονε*, whence he formed the reading of the text by conjecture ; and so *D.* He shows that *παραίτιος* is the *verbum proprium* (or, as he styles it, the *formula titularis*) in such decrees. Thus in an Agrigentine inscription, ap. Gruter (quoted by Taylor, at p. 255, 20) : *Δημήτριον πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρεσχῆσθαι τῷ ἀμῷ* [id est *ἡμετέρῳ*] *δάμῳ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παραίτιον γεγόνειν* [id est *γεγονέναι*]. And in another (quoted by him from the same collection, at the same place) : *ὑπάρχων τοῖς τε δημοσίοις ἡμῶν πράγμασι καὶ ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν παραίτιος ἀγαθοῦ πολλάκι γεγένηται.* || **ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου,** sc. *χειρός* (*R. D.*). Cf. Æsch. Ctes. p. 90, § 256 : *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελίσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου* (*D.*). *S.* prefers *ἀρχῆς.* || **οὐκ ἐλλείψει,** sc. *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν.* B

§ 39. [§ 93, p. 257.]

οὐδὲ—οὐδέ, 1493, *f.* § 776, 2. || **ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία,** scil. *ἡ ἐμή,* h. e. partes a me prælatæ et mea gestio rei publicæ, § 292 [116, D], *οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως κ.τ.λ.* § 317 [121, A], *ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις. D.*

σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις. "A previous alliance between Philip and Byzantium is no where mentioned, except in the passage now under consideration. In the War of the Confederates, this city had taken part with the insurgent islanders against Athens." *J.* || **οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ — ἂν ἐκείνοις.** *Qui multa queri potuissetis,* 818, 3 (653, *b*) § 429. 3. **πολλά,** 946 (747) § 548 *e, f.* On the dat. cf. 912 (720, *a*) § 589, 3. The orator refers especially to the war of the confederates (Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes, Cos,) against Athens, from B.C. 357—355, which forced Athens to recognize the independence of those states. Handbk. Anct. Hist. 308. || **ἠγνωμονήκεσαν.** *ἀγνωμονεῖν* is a mild term for *to offend against, to injure, to sin ;* referring the offence to the intellect rather than the C

(P. *will*. It is common in Plutarch. ‖ **ἐφαίνεσθε**, c. *partcp.* 1117, 8 22). (848, 6), § 684, Obs. 2, c.

§ 40. [§ 95, p. 257.]

D **ὃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων.** In the *published* oration of Æschines, the attacks on the Byzantines are not found. Those on the Eubœans are dwelt upon at great length, 65, § 85, sqq. ‖ **ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι**, "vos cognitum habere credo. Majorem enim vim habet hæc phrasis quam simplex *εἰδέναι*. Similiter dixit de Rhodiorum Libertate p. 190, *ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες*, et Mid. p. 527, *ταῦτα ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχει παρ' ὑμῖν*, ut infr. § 228 [99, A], *ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους*. Conferas etiam Latinam linguam, ut *sis sciens* Ter. Andr. iii. 2, 28. Sed constat *ὑπάρχειν* etiam cum aliis participiis jungi, ubi latiore et graviore formula opus." *D.* ‖ **τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων.** The first event upon which he touches occurred Ol. 96. 2, and few of those who were then living would be still alive in Ol. 112. 3. *D.*

PAGE 23.

A **πρός** = ad exemplum, convenienter. ‖ **Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων**, i. e. after the termination of the Peloponnesian war. ‖ **ἁρμοστὰς**. Harpocration: *ἁρμοστοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἄρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι.* ‖ **Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, κ.τ.λ.** *Eubœa* was taken possession of by the Lacedæmonians Ol. 92. 1 (Thuc. 8, 95). With respect to *Tanagra* (in eastern Bœotia, on the banks of the Asōpus, not far from the Athenian boundary, now *Scamino*), it is clear, from Xen. 5, 4, that after the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians had really placed Harmosts and garrisons of their own in the Bœotian cities. *Megara* was taken by Brasidas Ol. 89. 1; and the Æginetans restored by Lysander, Ol. 93. 4 (Xen. Hist. Gr. 2, 9). It is not known how or when the Lacedæmonians obtained possession of *Cleōnæ* (on a hill between *Argos* and *Corinth*, 120 stadia from the former town, 80 from the latter). *D. B.* ‖ **ἄλλας νήσους**, *other islands* (al. *τὰς ἄλλας*) besides Ægina and Eubœa, i. e. in the Ægean sea. ‖ **εἰς Ἀλίαρτον** (in Bœotia, to the south of the lake Copaïs). Here *Lysander* fell. For the history of the *Corinthian war* (from 394—387), in which Athens supported Thebes, Corinth, and Argos against the Lacedæmonians, cf. Hanbk. Anct. Hist. 304; Keightley, p. 308. The confederates had applied to Athens, and hearing of the near approach of her troops, Pausanias, one of the Lacedæmonian kings, who had arrived the day after the battle, retired. ‖ **ἂν ἐχόντων**, 818 (653) § 429, 3. ‖ **τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων.** "In the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians and Thebans, both faithful allies of Sparta, had occupied Decelēa, a frontier town, and from thence made frequent incursions into the Attic territory. From this circumstance the last portion of the war was called the Decelean war. The battle of Ægospotomos (Ol. 93. 4) terminated this

long war, and decided the supremacy of Lacedæmon,—a supremacy (P
which she maintained with her accustomed severity, by means of 23).
garrisons and Harmosts. Athens was compelled to demolish her long walls, and give up all her ships of war except twelve. By the expulsion of the thirty tyrants (Ol. 94. 2), Athens recovered her democratic constitution, and also regained her maritime superiority, in consequence of Sparta being engaged in wars both at home and abroad. One of the first steps taken by Athens towards the recovery of her ancient reputation on shore, was the assistance which she rendered to the Thebans (Ol. 96. 2), against Lysander and Pausanias. Then came the expedition to HALIARTUS. At the first breaking out of hostilities between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, Haliartus was besieged by Lysander (Ol. 96. 2), who was slain in a sally by the Athenians and Thebans. On the advance of the Spartan king, Pausanias, the Athenians sent out a force under Thrasybūlus, which compelled the king to conclude an armistice, and return to Sparta. Plut. vit. Lysan. c. 29. Xen. Hist. Hellen. iii. 5, 6, 25. Almost immediately after this expedition, an alliance was formed between Athens and the Bœotians, Corinth and Argos. The allied army was defeated (Xen. Hist. Gr. iv. 2; Diodor. 14, 82), but the war, nevertheless, continued many years." *J.*

τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, se periculis objicere. The B
Lacedæmonians had conquered the allies in the battle near Corinth (*μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ,* Dem. Lept. 472), but their fleet was annihilated by Conon, off Cnidus. Handbk. 304, B.; Keightley. "In writing this passage, the orator perhaps had present to his mind the heroic addresses of Sarpêdôn in Iliad xii. 322—327. It is often cited with admiration by the ancients. In the same sense Cicero says (Philip. x. 10), 'Ita præclara est recuperatio libertatis, ut ne mors quidem sit in recuperanda libertate fugienda. Quod si immortalitas consequeretur præsentis periculi fugam, tamen eo magis fugienda videretur, quo diuturnior servitus esset. Quum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstent, non est viri minimeque Romani, dubitare, eum spiritum, quem naturæ debeat, patriæ reddere.'" *J.* Cf. Propert. iii. 18, 25.: *Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et ære, Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.* ‖ **οἰκίσκος·** *ὀρνιθοτροφεῖον* (*a cage*). ‖ **τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα,** bona spe tanquam clypeo protenta. Menand. (Meinek. Fragm. Men. p. 214): *ὅταν τι πράττῃς ὅσιον, ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα Προβαλλ' ἑαυτῷ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι Τόλμῃ δικαίᾳ καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. D.* ‖ **φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως.** Eur. Phœn. 1776: *τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας θνητὸν ὄντα δεῖ φέρειν.* Xen. An. iii. 2, 6: *ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν. D.* On the propriety of introducing such moral common-places, Arist. (Rhet. ii. 22, 3), says: *χρῆσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ταῖς τεθρυλλημέναις καὶ κοιναῖς γνώμαις, ἂν ὦσι χρήσιμοι. D.*

διεκωλύσατε. "After the battle of Leuctra, Ol. 102. 2, the Thebans C
repeatedly invaded Peloponnesus, and even threatened the capital of Laconia. At this crisis, Athens assisted the Lacedæmonians,

(P. 23). and compelled the Thebans to retreat (Ol. 102. 4). Xen. Hist. Hell. vi. 5, 49, 52. The Athenian army (12,000 strong), was commanded by Iphicrates, who permitted the Thebans to carry off all their booty." *J.* ‖ **οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεπονηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι.** Nec reputantes quibus pro hominibus, quam infesta et quam nefanda in vosmet ausis, caput sitis objecturi periculis. *Reisk.* In English we must use two clauses, *nor considering what evils you had suffered from the (very) men, in whose behalf you were going to hazard your lives.*—**κινδυνεύσετε,** 1369 (990), § 886, *d.* The future indicative makes the description more *objective;* thus it here represents the certainty and reality of the dangers to be incurred. Such passages as those quoted by D. (e. g. below): **μνησικακεῖν νὴ Διὰ (ἤμελλον)** — **καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν, δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα,** are not exactly like the one before us, since the dependent clauses are relative clauses, denoting *purpose;* not dependent interrogative clauses. ‖ **τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἄλλα ἔχετε,** *that you reserve* (= are in the habit of reserving) *your resentment of them for other occasions.*—**τούτων,** objective gen., *the anger arising from* (occasioned by) *these things.* ‖ **ὑπολογιεῖσθε.** *ὑπολογίζεσθαι* = *ὑπόλογον ποιεῖσθαι* (Dinarch. in Dem. p. 91), to cast up an account, to calculate, *strike a balance* of their merits or demerits. ‖ **μόνον οὕτως ἰσχήκατε,** sc. **τῆς γνώμης.**

D **Θεμίσωνος.** Themisŏn, tyrant of Eretria, had, in conjunction with Theodōrus, seized upon *Orōpus* (which belonged to Athens), in time of peace (Ol. 103. 4). An agreement was afterwards made that the Thebans should hold the town till its legal possessor should be determined by arbitration; but the Thebans, having received it, refused to give it up. *D.* ‖ **ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις,** and that, *most promptly.* Dem. adv. Andr. 597.: *ἴσθ' ὅτι πρώην Εὐβοιεῦσιν ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ Θηβαίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεπέμψατε. Ἆρ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπράξατ' ἂν οὕτως ὀξέως, εἰ μὴ ναῦς εἴχετε καινάς, ἐν αἷς ἐβοηθήσατε; D.* ‖ **ἣν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ.** Orōpus, a city on the frontiers of Bœotia and Attica, was often, on account of its situation, a subject of dispute between Athens and Thebes (Strabo ix.) In the third year of the seventy-third Olympiad, it belonged to the Athenians (Herod. vi. 100), but in the second year of the ninety-second Olympiad, it was betrayed into the hands of the Bœotians. In Ol. 94. 3, a number of citizens who had been driven out of the city by an insurrection, sought the protection of the Thebans, who availed themselves of this opportunity to bring back the exiles and again take possession of the city (Diodor. xiv. 17). After many changes, we find it a second time in the hands of the Athenians (Ol. 103. 3), from whom it was again wrested by the tyrants of Eretria, Themisŏn and Theodōrus (Diodor. xv. 76). On the Athenians taking the field against them, these tyrants applied for assistance to the Thebans, offering them Orōpus by way of security. The Athenians, however, having once got possession of the city, refused to give it up (Xen. Hell. vii. 4). Philip (Ol. 110. 3) restored it to its ancient possessors (Pausan. i. 341). See also Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, p. 397, and Winiewski, p. 26. In the third year of the 105th Olym-

piad, a civil war broke out among the inhabitants of Eubœa, of whom one party applied for aid to the Athenians, and the other to the Thebans. After several indecisive engagements, the Eubœans grew tired of the war, and sent the Bœotians home (Diodor. xvi. 7). The rapidity with which the Athenians carried their plans into execution, probably rendered the fitting out of ships of war by voluntary trierarchs a measure of necessity on this occasion; but, at a later period, the practice became common. See Böckh's Publ. Ec. of Athens, bk. iv. chap. xi. sqq. On the Trierarchies, cf. Hanbk. Gr. Antiqq. 165, especially the end, p. 100, A. ‖ **ὑπολογισάμενοι**, here *without having taken into account* (*and made any consequent deduction*). ‖ **ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν**, *in our own times*. (P. 23).

Page 24.

ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις, in tot et tantis rebus. Infr. § 305 [p. 65, B]: *τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν*. Or. in Mid. 563: *τοσούτων τοίνυν καὶ τοιούτων ὄντων*. Cic. Nat. D. iii. 29: *urbes tantas atque tales*. D. These words are frequently so joined. ‖ **ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης**, cum ipsius urbis salus quodammodo in deliberationem veniret. Or. adv. Phil. ii. p. 74: *καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν* (Philippus) *μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου. D.* ‖ **τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν**; *what was I to* bid her do! &c. = *what ought* I to have told her to do! &c. On **κελεύσειν**, cf. Gr. 765 (613) § 405, Obs. fin. ‖ **μνησικακεῖν, κ.τ.λ.** Dem. often uses *νὴ Δία* in *ironical* answers to his own questions, ironical suppositions, &c. So in Mid. 527: *ποία γὰρ πρόφασις, τίς ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανεῖται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργὴ νὴ Δία· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λίξει. D.* ‖ **προφάσεις—δι' ἃς—προησόμεθα**, prætextus, ut omnia proderemus, 1248 (923) § 826, 2. ‖ **λόγῳ μόνον—ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον, κ.τ.λ.** He *implies* that he *could not* disgrace the city by any thing more than *words*, for they would certainly not have disgraced their former noble deeds by unworthy *actions*.—The **τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῇ πόλει, κ.τ.λ.**, are the *inherited possession* of glorious precedents. Cf. before *πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*. ‖ **τί ἦν ἐμποδών**; 790 (632) § 858, 3. A

§ 41. [§ 102, p. 260.]

πάλαι adv. 1452, § 771, 1. ‖ **γάρ**, inceptive. See Pract. Introd. to Gr. Prose, ii. 173. ‖ **καταλυόμενον**, *dissolvi*. ‖ **ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους**, *were for a trifling contribution* (as good as) *exempt from the payment of the public liturgies*.—"*I saw our richest citizens purchase a total exemption from public taxes at the expense of a trifling contribution.*" L.—Ἀπό denotes the *source* or *cause* from which their virtual exemption proceeded. Cf. Aristoph. Plut. 377: *ὦ τᾶν ἐγώ τοι τοῦτ' ἀπὸ σμικροῦ πάνυ Ἐθέλω διαπρᾶξαι* (= exiguo admodum sumptu).—On the *trierarchies* and *symmoriæ*, by means of which the poorer citizens *clubbed* together to furnish a vessel, cf. B

(P. 24). Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 165, d. ‖ **ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν**, serius venire, opportunitate rerum gerendarum elapsâ, 888 fin. (690) § 505. Phil. i. 50: *τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν. D* ‖ **πένης**. Gr. Syn. 353. ‖ **καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον**, et accusatus (legis latae prioribus legibus repugnantis) subii hanc causam apud vos. *D.* So a little below, *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*, and adv. Phorm. 907, *οὐδεμίαν πώποτε δίκην εἰσήλθομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὔτ' ἐγκαλοῦντες οὔτ' ἐγκαλούμενοι.* Adv. Aphob. 840, *ὡς γὰρ τὰς δίκας ταύτας ἔμελλον εἰσιέναι κατ' αὐτῶν.* The verbs *εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσιέναι*, are applied both to the defender and to the accuser. *D.* **Ἀγῶνα εἰσελθεῖν** is an extension of the *acc. cognatæ signif.* Cf. 942 (745) § 548, c.

c **τὸ μέρος**. *The* (well-known *fifth*) *part*; the not obtaining which was visited with a fine. Cf. n. at top of p. 129. ‖ **ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν**. The *leaders* of the *symmoriæ* were the richest citizens of each *symmoria*, the members of which were classed. Cf. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 164, d. ‖ **διδόναι**, *to offer*. ‖ **μάλιστα μὲν—εἰ δὲ μή**. Gr. 1464, *c.*—**εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἐᾷν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ**, sin minus, ut eam ante institutam accusationem legis male rogatae desererem et revocarem. *D.* When a proposed law or bill was stopt by an orator who asserted that it was unconstitutional, this orator *made oath* (*ὑπομόσασθαι*) that he would *impeach* the proposer by a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. This oath was called *ὑπωμοσία*, and the bill was suspended till the action was brought and decided. But the proposer of the bill was allowed, if he pleased, to declare his *intention to give it up*, before the *action was brought*. ‖ **συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν**, the symmoriæ consisting of sixty-four persons, of whom *sixteen* were to furnish one ship. See n. on § 44. ‖ **μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι**, pauca vel potius nihil. Pl. Theæt. p. 173: *ταῦτα πάντα ἠγησαμένη σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν. D.* ‖ **τοὺς ἀπόρους**, the poorer members of the symmoriæ.

d **ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου**, sc. *ἔδει*, implied by its opposite. Cf. Soph. Œd. R. 817 sqq.: *ᾧ μὴ ξένων ἔξεστι μηδ' ἀστῶν τινὰ Δόμοις δίχεσθαι, μηδὲ προσφωνεῖν τινά, Ὑθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων.* ‖ **τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν**, ratam portionem pro censu, *his rateable proportion*. ‖ **τιθέναι**, *to lay down* = *pay down, pay*. ‖ **δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος**. A person whose rated property was *ten talents* furnished one vessel; and so on in proportion up to the maximum which any one individual was to furnish, sc. *three* vessels. Handk. Gr. Antiqq., 165, d, and n. on § 44. ‖ **ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος συντελής**, lit. *was a sixteenth co-contributor* (of =) *to the one*, sc. the one which the sixteen jointly furnished: "*was taxed but at the sixteenth part of one.*" L.

PAGE 25, § 42. [§ 105, p. 261.]

a **ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων**, sc. *γραφήν*, which some editions have. **Ἀποφέρειν** is a regular judicial term = *reum aliquem agere, nomen ejus deferre ad prætorem; diem ei dicere.* Schæf.: e. g. *γραφὴν κακώ-*

σως κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀποφέρει πρὸς τὴν ἀρχοντα, Dem. 1332, 13. ‖ *τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς*. The fine for not obtaining the fifth part of the votes in a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* is generally (and repeatedly) stated to have been 1000 drachmas. Cf. Böckh's Publ. Ec. p. 330. (P. 25).

§ 43. [§ 106, p. 261.]

ἐν τοῖς λόχοις. "This term is of doubtful meaning. Wolff considers the λόχοι as equivalent to the *συμμορίαι*." *J.* Böckh (p. 562) considers it a difficulty which cannot be solved.

χορηγία (Böckh observes) means, in this decree, *any public service*. B

§ 44. [§ 106, p. 262.]

κατὰ τίμησιν, according to assessment.

δέκα τάλαντα. "Great light is thrown on this passage by Böckh (Publ. Econ. p. 570), from whom we extract the following:—'The expression although somewhat vague towards the end of the law, plainly indicates that the ten talents were not the absolute amount of property, but merely the capital on which tax was paid.—Supposing then the valuation of Nausinīcus to be still in force, the possession of fifty talents would be required to furnish one trireme, of 150 or more, three triremes; and, in proportion to his property, a supernumerary vessel or tender besides: and, that the burden might not be too heavy, this was made the maximum.—Those who possessed less than ten talents were required to contribute in proportion to the sum at which they were rated in the tax-gatherer's book. The less a man had, the smaller was the per centage at which he was rated. By this arrangement a great change was effected. All persons liable to the payment of taxes were now included, but the burden which formerly pressed so grievously on the poor (under the 1200), was considerably lightened, as Demosthenes intended it should be. A man who before had contributed $\frac{1}{12}$ towards the fitting out of a trireme, was now required to provide two ships, supposing him to possess twenty talents of rated capital.'" *J.* C

§ 45. [§ 107, p. 262.]

ἀναλῶσαι ἄν. Jn. *ἐθέλειν ἄν* (= *would be willing*) *ἀναλῶσαι*. ‖ *τοῦ μὴ—ποιεῖν*. Gr. 1080 (827). ‖ *τῷ μὲ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα*. (I pride myself) *on not having dropt* these measures, i. e. in not having been induced to drop them by the bribes or threats of the rich.—*καθυφεῖναι τὸν ἀγῶνα*=causam, litem deserere, in Mid. p. 526: *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεσμοθέτης οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων φροντίσας οὐδ' ἀγανακτήσας φανήσεται, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ πεισθεὶς ὀπωσοῦν ποτε ἀργυρίῳ καθυφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα*. ‖ *τὸν πόλεμον*, "the war that was caused by Philip's laying siege to Byzantium, Ol. 101. 1." *J.* ‖ *ἀποστόλων*. Harpocration: *Ἀπόστολοι*, inquit,

(P. 25). εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπομπαί, et ἀποστολίας explicat τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν τριηρῶν ἀποδειδιγμένους. Pollux l. viii. 99, eos esse dicit τοὺς προνοουμένους τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τοῦ ἔκπλου τῶν τριηρίων. ‖ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε = *appealed to the people.* ἱκετηρία was the (olive) *bough* borne by suppliants. Those who came to supplicate the Public Assembly placed this olive bough on the altar in the Pnyx, at which the lustral sacrifice was performed before the Meeting was opened. According to Pollux, such appeals of suppliants were heard on the second meeting of the Assembly in each Prytany. Suppliants might also fly to the altar of *Artemis Munychia.* On which cf. Lys. Or. adv. Agorat. 132, § 24. On the term cf. in Timocr. 703: μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένης ἐκκλησίας προὐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. ἀναστὰς Εὐκτήμων ἔλεγεν ἄλλα τε πολλά, καὶ διεξῆλθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς — ὡς ἔθεσαν τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ὧν ἦν τὰ χρήματα ἄνθρωποι, ὡς ἀπεχειροτονήσαθ' ὑμεῖς μὴ φίλια εἶναι. Cf. εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἱκετηρίαν τιθέναι, Æsch. Tim. 14, § 104. *D.* ‖ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη. The ἀποστολεῖς [Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 153, and n. at foot of p. 129.] were *commissioners of the navy,* or *officers of the Admiralty,* who were to see that the ships were ready for service at the right time, and properly equipt.

D τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν. The cause was (this): *the state-services* [here the expense of preparing the vessels], *were laid upon the poor: many* [therefore], *very many* (πολλὰ δή) *were the cases of inability that used to occur.* The second clause is virtually the apŏdosis to the preceding; but the independent arrangement of the clauses gives greater spirit to the statement than their connexion by ἐπεί could do. A similar instance is πάντ' οὖν τὰ δίοντα ἐγίγνοντο, just below. *D.*

Page 26.

A Ad futur. φανήσομαι supple: si quis accurate consideraverit haec. *D.*

§ 46. [§ 110, p. 263.]

B παραλείπω. What he thus passes over for the present, is the last and greatest war with Philip, which ended in the fatal overthrow at Chæronēa. ‖ ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι, nihilominus penes vestrum unumquemque conscientiam rerum a me gestarum reservari mihi. *D.*—Ὁμοίως = nihilominus, i. e. equally, just as much as if I were to dwell upon the omitted particulars.—τὸ συνειδός = ἡ συνείδησις, according to the idiom (so common in Thucyd.) by which participles with the article are used with the force of abstract substantives. 1152 (869, *g*) § 436, Obs. 1. γ.—On the unsatisfactory nature of the argument by which Demosthenes tries to prove the legality of the decree to crown him, see the Introduction.

§ 47. [§ 111, p. 263.] (P. 26).

ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν. "Frequens imprimis apud Platonem locutio ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταστρέφειν, μεταβάλλειν, ἕλκειν, μετακίνειν, quae nunc versare in omnes partes, aut fluctuare huc illuc, nunc turbare et confundere significat. Ac de confusione est etiam proverbium: ἄνω κάτω πάντα, Plat. Theæt. p. 153. Latini dicunt: susque deque, sursum deorsum. *D.*—συνᾷν, prop. to *mingle*, hence fig. to *confound*. ‖ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι, are the existing laws which the accuser, in a γραφὴ παρανόμων, was obliged to have *written* out *side by side* with the *proposed law*, which (as he maintained) contradicted their enactments. Οὐ τοίνυν τούτους μόνον τοὺς νόμους, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς, οὓς οὐ παραγεγράμμεθα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. Dem. in Arist. 640. *D.* ‖ τὴν ὀρθήν, *in a straightforward way*; opposed to the medley and confusion with which he has just charged his accuser.

νῦν—διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, just now *dealt in calumnies and* C
strong assertions = *according to his recent calumnies and affirmations.* ‖ ὧν ἡ διαχειρικὰ ἣ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. διαχειρίζειν, to *administer public funds*, or to *manage public property of any kind.* Æsch. Ctes. p. 57, § 27: καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχείριζε. Ibid. p. 58, § 29: πάντες ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας. *D.* ‖ ὧν μέντοι γε, "non esse inusitatum Atticis docet Lobeckius ad Phrynichum p. 342." *D.* ‖ ἀκούειν Αἰσχίνη; h. e. etsi tu contrarium contendisti in oratione tua. *D.* ‖ οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ἂν τύχῃ, whose accounts underwent an extremely severe examination before the λογισταί and εὔθυνοι. ‖ φιλόδωρον. "Significatione multum differt à ceteris hujusmodi compositis; valet enim non appetens dona, sed facile largiens." *Schæf.* ‖ εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας ἄγειν, *to hand them over to malicious accusers.*

στέρξω = *will be content; will be satisfied.* ‖ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ D
εἶναι, to be a *manager of the theatrical fund.* Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 155, B. ‖ τειχοποιός, ib. 167, A. ‖ καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην, not *nec intuli rationibus* (D.), but *non intuli rationibus.* Anglicè: *I gave it; I did not charge it to the account of the State.* ‖ τῶν ἐξεταζόντων, lit. *those who will examine* = *auditors, comptrollers.* ‖ δῆλ [243 (184) i. 158, e] = *Ctesiphôn.* Dem. alludes to the decree about honouring him with a crown.

Page 27.

ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν, in vestris quidem moribus. *D.* A
Schæfer and Ast would read ἔθεσιν; but D. observes, that both νόμοι καὶ ἔθη (*consuetudines*) and νόμοι καὶ ἤθη (*mores*) are found, as the meaning of the speaker or writer requires.—*Nausicles*, an Athenian general: he had commanded the troops sent by Athens to assist the Phocians, Ol. 107. 1 (cf. Chron. Table, p. 83): he appears to have been on friendly terms with Æschines at the time of the embassy about the peace (Ol. 108. 2), and afterwards

(P. 27). with Demosthenes. What part he himself took in the negotiations about the peace is not clear. Dem. p. 336. (*Wst.*) ‖ **στρατηγῶν**, *whilst* he was *still in command* of the troops; and therefore *before* he had laid down his command and had his accounts passed. —*Diotīmus* had commanded an Athenian fleet, Ol. 101. 3; he belonged to the popular party, and on that ground was one of those whom Alexander demanded to have given up to him. In Ol. 111. 3 (B.C. 334), he received the thanks of the people for his services, on the motion of Lycurgus. (See note § 48, c.) —*Charidēmus*, of Oreos (in Eubœa), was a soldier of fortune, who was ready to sell his sword and services to the highest bidder. In the troubles on the Thracian coast he was sometimes the friend, and sometimes the foe of Athens; but his friends in that city persuaded the people that the surrender of the Chersonese was due to him, and he received a golden crown.—He received the command of the Athenian troops in the Olynthian war, but was superseded by Chares.—It is probable that the Charidēmus, whose surrender Alexander demanded amongst the ten heads of the popular party, was a different person. See note, § 49, c; and Dict. Biog. p. 685.—*Neoptolemus.* "No confirmatory document was produced respecting Neoptolemus; perhaps, as Winiewski and Schæfer suppose, because he was himself present in the assembly." *J.* ‖ **πολλῶν ἔργων**, sc. *δημοσίων* of many public works. Such **ἐπιστάται** (*commissioners* or *inspectors*) were extraordinary officers, entrusted with the management of public buildings that were in progress, and other improvements. ‖ **ἂν εἴη —εἰ μὴ ἐξέσται.** Gr. 1287 (946, *a*) § 853, *b.*

B **αὐτά**, *themselves*, opp. to the general outline of their contents just given. *Wst.*

§ 48. [§ 115, p. 265.]

Ἄρχων Δημόνικος. "The name of the Archon Demonīcus is a mistake. The formula also (*ἄρχων Δημόνικος*, instead of *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δημονίκου*) is unusual. The circumstance mentioned in the psephisma must have occurred in the war with the confederates, Ol. 106. 2, when the Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantines, made several descents on Lemnos and Imbros, and ravaged the estates of the Athenian colonists. Diodor. 16. 21. But in this year Callistratus, and not Demonīcus, was Archon. See Böckh de Archont. pseudep. Nausicles is often mentioned in the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines as an active statesman. He commanded an Athenian auxiliary force in the sacred war. Ol. 107. 1. Diodor. 16. 37." *J.* ‖ **γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας εἶπεν.** "Comparabis ex inscriptionibus tales formulas: *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀριστοφῶν εἶπεν*· vol. i. nr. 90, p. 129, ne plura endtem." *D.* ‖ **τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων**, "colonis Atheniensibus sive *κληρούχοις*." *D.* ‖ **μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας.** "Hæc solennis constructio verbi *μισθοδοτεῖν*. Rarius regit dativum. Xen. Anab. vii. 1, 13. *Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει.* V. Anecd. Bekk. p. 157, 15." *Schæf.*—*Dionysia.* Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 143.

§ 49. [§ 116, p. 265.] (P. 27).

πρυτάνεων λεγόντων. Prytanibus referentibus de ea re ad populum. *D.* || τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, cum militum pars in pugna caesa ab hostibus spoliata esset. *D.* || καθόπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις. "No mention occurs in history of the events to which this psephisma refers. But as they undoubtedly happened about the same time as those mentioned in the previous psephisma, and Callias is the mover in both cases, Winiewski conjectures, that at the very time when Nausicles went out to Imbrus with his army, the neighbouring states which were hostile to Athens, seized the favorable opportunity, and effected a descent on Salamis. The river here mentioned, on the banks of which a battle was fought, must have been the Bocalia; and since, according to the conjecture of the same distinguished scholars, the feeble army of Charidēmus was here worsted, it was to this place that Diotīmus marched his reinforcement of young citizens, whom he had got together in haste. Charidēmus, one of the most distinguished statesmen of that period, who must not be confounded with the Oreite of the same name, was one of those persons whom Alexander required to be delivered up to him after the destruction of Thebes. Plutareh. vit. Dem. c. 23. He fled to Darius, and there met his death. He was, according to the testimony of Diodorus (17, 30), 'a man of the most extraordinary courage, and highly distinguished as a commander.' Diotīmus was also one of the statesmen demanded by Alexander. In the forged letter (Ep. 3, p. 1482) he is mentioned in conjunction with Nausicles and other statesmen of that period." *J.*

Panathenæa. Handbk. Gr. Antiq. 143. D. thinks that the Panathenæa (celebrated on the 28th of Hecatombæôn, in the third year of every Olympiad) happened soon after the generous action of the Stratēgi, which was therefore to be honoured *immediately* at this festival, and *again* at the *Dionysia* (in *Elaphebolión*), when a larger concourse of people took place. || θεσμοθέτας, Handbk. of Gr. Antiqq. 110, B. || πρυτάνεις, ib. 105, A. || ἀγωνοθέτας, the *superintendents of the games:* those who managed the Panathenæa were called Athlothetæ. D

§ 50. [§ 117, p. 266.]

οὐκοῦν, 1495 (1053, *o*), § 791, obs. || ταὐτὰ — τοῖς ἄλλοις, 917, *d* (724, *c*), § 594, 2. || δήπου, (opinor,) *I presume.* 1461 (1053, *d*), § 724, 2. || καὶ—γε = *yes—and*, &c. 1456, *d*, *e* (1052, *a*. 1053, *b*), § 735, 8, 10.

Page 28.

νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; An ironical supposition; which he proceeds to show has no weight. "*Nam Græci in oppositione sententiarum sic utuntur hac voce, ut illud quidem, quod jam ante declaratum est, confirment verbis νὴ Δία, at deinceps particula* ἀλλά *aliquid contra dicant; quæ contradictio eo gravior debet esse, quo magis illa adfirma-* A

(P. *tione id confirmaverant, cui jam aliud opponitur.*" (*Klotz* ad Dev. 12.)
28). *Heindorff, Matth.* Gr. § 630. *D. Wst.* read ἐπέδωκα, ἦρχον, ἦρξα, without interrogation as *suppositions.* ‖ **οἱ λογισταί**, the public *auditors of accounts*, a sort of *officers of the treasury*, who examined the accounts of all who were entrusted with the management of public money. ‖ **εἰσάγειν** is a judicial term to *bring a cause into court.* Dem. therefore ironically supposes that the *officers of the treasury did call for a judicial investigation* against him. "And yet," said he, "you did not step forward as my accuser." So D.: but *Wst.* (with more reason) thinks that εἰσάγειν (though to be completed by εἰς δικαστήριον) is not to be understood of an *action*, but only of the *personal appearance* in court, which the logistæ required from every person whose accounts, after being examined and approved, were to be presented to the court for its confirmation. On this occasion, any Athenian citizen might attend and object to their being passed.

§ 51. [§ 118, p. 266.]

οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος. The construction is οἷς γὰρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος (= τούτοις γὰρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος ἃ) οὐκ ἐγράψατο, τούτοις φανήσεται συκοφαντῶν ἃ διώκει, *from those points of the decree on which he has founded no accusation, it will be evident, that in those which he does attack, his accusation is frivolous and malicious.* ἃ διώκει depends on συκοφαντῶν, as a neuter relative or adj. (ἄ, οὐδέν, πολλά, &c.) would depend on a verb of accusing. A προβούλευμα was a *bill*, presented to the Assembly *after being approved* by the Senate, βουλή. [Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 104.] Such measures as honouring a citizen by a *crown*, *statue*, or the privilege of προεδρία, might be *proposed*, indeed, by individuals, but must be first proposed to and approved by the Senate. (Schömann, p. 103.)

§ 52. [§ 118, p. 266.]

ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, or φθίνοντος = the 22nd of the month. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 175, B.

B **ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθείς**, *being manager of the theatrical fund.* Hbk. Gr. Antiqq. 158, B. ‖ **τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς**, to the general fund raised from all the tribes for the θεωρικά —It would appear, therefore, that the public sacrifices, which were very expensive, and constituted a regular form of donative to the people, were paid from the θεωρικά. Others (J. D. Böckh) would read θεωροῖς. ‖ **ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ**, &c. "Sic Or. adv. Neær. p. 1375: δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. Atque ipsam propositam formulam videbis in inscriptione Deliaca in Corp. Inscriptt. v. ii. nr. 2271, p. 228, ubi legitur: ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ καλοκάγαθίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων. Quare de grammatica constructione non dubitandum." *D.* ‖ **ἀγωνοθέτην.** "The name of the Archon prefixed to this psephisma is a mistake; for it is certain that

Ctesiphôn brought forward his motion in the year in which the battle (P. of Chæronēa took place, and consequently in the Archonship of 28). Chærondas, who was also Archon when Æschines, a few months later, brought forward his charge against Ctesiphôn." *J.*

§ 53. [§ 119, p. 267.]

τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα, κ.τ.λ. Dionysius Halic. de Comp. Verb. 45, Reisk.: *τί δαί, εἰ τὴν Δημοσθένους λέξιν ταύτην· τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι, παρανόμων γράφῃ; εἰ λύσας τις καὶ μεταθεὶς τὰ κῶλα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξενέγκαι· ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφῃ τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι, ἀρ' ὁμοίως ἔσται δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι. D.* c

§ 54. [§ 120, p. 267.]

τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. "'He was several times crowned: first, on the motion of Demotelês, Aristonicus, Hypereidês, with a golden crown; and lastly on that of Ctesiphôn.' Plut. t. ii. For the date of Aristonicus's motion, see note § 33. Demomelês and Hypereidês are mentioned in § 98, with reference to this circumstance." *J.* || **ὥστ' οὐ**, cf. Gr. 1323 (953).

οἱ γὰρ—προτρέποντες. This motive is often appealed to by the orators. *Wst.* refers to Dem. 20, 5. 64. 24, 216. &c., and quotes from the Corp. Inscript. 100: *ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες φιλοτιμῶνται εἰς τοὺς δημότας εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτας ἀπολήψονται παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων*: and 108. D

PAGE 29, § 56. [§ 121, p. 268.]

τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος, κ.τ.λ. "What Æschines says in his speech against Ctesiphôn, is not in accordance with such a law. 'It is expressly enjoined by the law, that if a crown be voted by the senate, it shall be announced in the senate-house; and if by the people, in the popular assembly: the only coronation permitted in the theatre, is that by another state, when approved by the people.' The law itself, on which Æschines grounds his objection, has not been preserved; but Demosthenes argues against his interpretation of it, and maintains that he has falsified and mutilated it." *J. Wst.* concludes his observations on the difficulty with the remark, that "the confidence with which Dem. meets his opponent on this point, accuses him of garbling the decree, and wresting the meaning of its enactments, and immediately after the reading of it, calls attention emphatically to the words *πλὴν—ψηφίσηται*, makes it extremely probable, that Æschines had really been guilty of either affixing upon the law a meaning that did not belong to it, or of suppressing the clause which Dem. produces." He thinks, too, that A

(P. 29). "it is highly improbable, that the people could have ever made an entire and voluntary surrender of the power to reward services, however distinguished, by a public proclamation in the theatre." When we consider the uncertainty of what Æschines really said (for he may have altered the statements in his published speech) and the absence of the laws referred to, we cannot hope to solve the difficulty with certainty. If the law here produced were genuine and still in force, Demosthenes's reply is triumphant. But how *could* Æschines hope to gain his cause in the face of so plain an enactment? Moreover, he anticipates *this* answer, and arms the people against it by asserting that it did not bear the meaning which Dem. would probably try to attach to it. Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν, ναί, εἴγε σί τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ. ‖ ἀναγορευέτω, sc. ὁ κῆρυξ. ‖ λόγους πλάττειs, verba fingis, h. e. falsa speciosis verbis exornas. *D.* Dem. in Androt. 594: νῦν δ' οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι οὗτος ἁπλοῦν μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ἐξαπατᾷν δ' ὑμᾶς πειράσεται πλάττων καὶ παράγων πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων κακούργους λόγους, and Soph. Aj. 148: τοιοῦσδε λόγους ψευδήρους πλάσσων Εἰς ὥτα φέρει πᾶσιν Ὀδυσσεύς. ‖ δίκην εἰσάγειν = *causam ad judices deferre*: δίκ. φθόνου = an *action* that *proceeds* from, or is *founded* on *envy*: δίκ. ἀδικήματος, one that is really founded on the criminal conduct of the accused person. But both the *envy* and the *crime* may (as *Wst.* observes) be considered the cause or occasion of the action. ‖ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, i. e. τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν τῶν δ' ἀφ. μέρ. Pl. Phil. 35, ἀλγεῖ τότε δὲ χαίρει = τότε μὲν ἀλγεῖ τότε δὲ χαίρει. Nearly so μεταποιεῖν, immutare. ἀφ. μέρ. is nearly our *to garble*. ‖ δίκαιον ἦν. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3.

B τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι, the oath of the Heliastæ began with ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, κ.τ.λ. ‖ ἔπειτα, Gr. 1126, *b* (855, *b*) § 967, *c*. ‖ δημοτικῷ. "Æschines enumerates five peculiarities by which the real statesman (δημοτικός) is distinguished, for the purpose of showing that not one of them is possessed by Demosthenes." *J.* ‖ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, κ.τ.λ.: as if you *had given an order for a statue, and received one that was not executed according to the terms of the agreement.*—συγγραφή was the *written agreement*: an agreement of this kind was often signed by the two parties, where a statue or other work of art was to be executed by contract. Such a contract is still extant in Andoc. iv. 16. ‖ εἶτα, *and then*, Gr. 1467. ‖ ἢ—τοὺς δημοτικοὺς—γιγνωσκομένους = *aut quasi . . . cognoscantur*. The accusatives depend on ὥσπερ. Gr. 1143, *c* (866, *b*) § 703, *c*. ‖ ἀλλ' οὐ = not; *ac non*. Gr. 1444, *i*. ‖ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα ὀνομάζων, "sc. με. Sunt ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα, ut constat, fanda infanda, h. e. quidquid in mentem venit." *D.* Cf. in Androt. 612: τὸν μὲν δοῦλον ἔφη καὶ ἐκ δούλων εἶναι—τὸν δὲ ἀπογράφειν ὅσα ὑφείλετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς—τὸν δὲ ὁμοῦ ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα κακά, ἐξῆς ἅπαντας. ‖ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης. On the second day of the Anthestēria, which was called χόες (the first being

πιθοίγια, and the third χύτροι), the *new wine* was drunk for the first time, and a procession took place, when the populace, in *carts* (ἅμαξαι), indulged in licensed scurrility and *ribaldrous abuse* one of another. The same license was afterwards extended to the Lenæa. "This Grecian custom is compared by Dionys. Halicar. Arch. Rom. vii. 72, with a similar practice in the Roman triumphal processions. In the same manner, at the Thesmophoria, one day was devoted by the women to amusement and revelry. See Creuzer's Symbol. vol. iv." *J.* ‖ καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο: such a verb as *I will mention, add,* or the like, must be supplied. So also Philipp. 1, 43. *D.* ‖ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν. "H. Wolf compares this passage with the following, from Cicero's oration for M. Cœlius, c. 3. 'Sed aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet, maledictio autem nihil habet propositi, præter contumeliam; quæ si petulantius jactetur, convicium, si facetius, urbanitas nominatur.' Cf. also Lycurgus against Leocrates, c. 2." *J.* (P. 29).

τοῖς ἐχθροῖς—συμβαίνει λέγειν, *enemies—are led to utter.* ‖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, from (= on occasion of, with reference to) our *private affairs, our private life* (considered as the *source* from which the abuse is drawn). ‖ κακῶς τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους. We have here a combination of the *two* constructions, κακῶς λέγειν τινά, and κακὰ λέγειν τινά. Κακῶς λέγειν (= κακολογεῖν), *to abuse,* and τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα is the acc. descriptive of the abuse: *to load with foul* (or shameful) *abuse.* Lys. 60, 6, affords a good explanation of τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα (*quæ dici non debent*): ἐτόλμα λέγειν . . . ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων, ἐάν τις εἴπῃ τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτονέναι. *Wst.* ‖ πομπεύειν = *conviciari,* from the scurrilous abuse used in the *procession* (πομπή) at the Anthestēria, described in the preceding note. ‖ οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα, *but even there—not; even there however—not.*—ἐνταῦθα = *in ea re* (*in that; in uttering* abuse). ‖ ἔλαττον ἔχειν, not here *inferior discedere* (D.), but to *receive less* than he has given, i. e., he *must have* as good as he brings; according to our colloquial expression. ‖ δίκαιός ἐστιν. Gr. 1072 (821) § 677. (C).

δῆλον ὅτι (or δηλονότι.) ‖ οὗ = *ubi.* ‖ ἦν, *erat* = *licebat.* ‖ εἰ περ. Gr, 1465, note 6. ‖ ἠδίκουν = *deliquissem,* 766, *g* (614, *d*) § 396. ‖ τῷ χρόνῳ, *diuturnitate temporis,* by the length of time that has since elapsed. ‖ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ. Προθεσμία was the fixed time (of different length in different actions), after which an action could not be brought. ‖ τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον. "Psephismata Aristonici, Demomelæ, Hyperidis Diondæ, legem trierarchicam Demosthenis Patrocles, alii alia accusarunt." *D.* ‖ τῇ πόλει δ'—ἀνάγκη, i. e. οὐ δὲ τῇ πόλ. ἀ. ‖ ἀπήντηκας. "Reiske explains this passage in the following manner: 'Est hæc causa ejusmodi, ut me prorsus non tangat, civitas autem effugere nequeat, quo minus existimationem de me vel super me actorum utramvis in partem plus minusve participet, apud alios benignius et rursus apud alios iniquius judicantes. Ergo inimicus es civitatis magis quam meus.'" *J.* (D).

(P. 29). § 57. [§ 126, p. 269.]

ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος is, of course, the subject, δέδεικται *alone* the predicate : = has *been declared* (*to you* all). *Now that I have declared and proved to you* all *what is the righteous* (or conscientious), *and just decision* (in this cause).

Page 30.

A **βλασφημίας** is placed before the participle, that it may receive a stronger *rhetorical* accentuation. So below *τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν. D.* ‖ **ῥᾳδίως οὕτως**, tam temere, ut Æsch. Ctes. p. 87, § 234, Plat. Charmid. p. 108. *D.* ‖ **λόγους τίνας διασύρει**, et dictiones quasdam, si diis placet, calumniatur, cum ea ipse dixerit, quæ quis paullo modestior ausus esset efferre! Æsch. 3, 72. *D.*—διασύρειν, prop. distrahere = *verbis elevare, calumniari*, &c. *Διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπῄνεσε*, 169, 22. "Post hæc quæ exspectatur apodōsis, omissa est." *D.* ‖ **σπερμολόγος**, loquax, blatero, cf. Act. Apost. xvii. 18. Eustat. ad Od. p. 1547, 55, says: *ὃ δὲ κυρίως φασὶ, σπερμολόγος καὶ σπερμονόμος εἶδός ἐστιν ὀρνέου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα. Ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας, διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀναῤῥίοντα καὶ διαζῆν. Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλῆσιν καὶ οἱ σύδινδς λόγον ἄξιοι. D.* ‖ **περίτριμμα.** Cf. *περίτριμμα δικῶν*, Arist. Nub. 447 : *περίτριμμα πραγμάτων οἷον τετριμμένον ἱκανῶς τοῖς πράγμασιν.* Gramm. ap. Bek. Aneed. 59, 32, (*a hack of the forum.*) ‖ **ὄλεθρος** (*ruin*), is here used instead of an adjective = *vile, worthless.* Cf. *ὀλίθρου Μακεδόνος*, 9, 31.—**γραμματεύς** : it seems that Æschines had once been one of the *ὑπογραμματεῖς, secretaries* to the various magistrates. Hence he is called below *γραμματοκύφων* (§ 209 [90, B]). Cf. below, § 261 [p. 57, B] : *τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελίξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. D.* ‖ **οὐδ' ἂν πορίσασθαι**, non exprompsisset. Or. adv. Lacr. 938 : *ῥᾳδίως λόγους πορίσασθαι.* Epitaph. 1392 : *ὅ τι χρὴ λίγειν πορίσασθαι. Schæf.* ‖ **ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα.** Another allusion to his former profession. ‖ **ὦ γῆ**, &c. "Demosthenes here repeats the conclusion of the plaintiff's speech, with a scoffing allusion to the former life of Æschines as a stage player : 'Thus, O earth and sun, and virtue, and judgement, and education, whereby we discern the beautiful and the deformed, have I vindicated your rights, and thus end I my speech.'" *J.*

B **κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε.** "Nam ipsos, ut Demosthenes ait, erubescere, etiam cum ab aliis laudabimur, decet." Quinct. Inst. Orat. xi. 1, 22. *D.* ‖ **τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι**, sc. *ταύτης—τῆς παιδείας, προσποιουμένοις δ'* (sc. *ἔχειν αὐτήν*, or *τετυχηκέναι αὐτῆς*) . . . . *περίεστιν· ἢ vero qui expertes sunt* (liberalis institutionis) . . . *id consequuntur, ut* &c. ‖ **τὸ—ποιεῖν — τὸ δοκεῖν** are the *subjects* to *περίεστιν.*

§ 58. [§ 129, p. 270.] (P. 30). c

πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ, *by the temple of Theseus* (in the north-west quarter of Athens). ‖ **διδάσκειν γράμματα**, included not only the teaching of *reading and writing*, but the explaining of the works of the best poets, &c., portions of which were dictated to the pupils, and committed to memory by them. A description of such schools is given in Plat. Protag. 325, 2. The duties of Tromês and Æschinês in this school are again described below, § 258 [108, D] : *ἅμα τῷ παρὰ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν*. It may be added, that in the *Orat. de Fals. Leg.* it is only asserted that the father of Æschines *ἐδίδασκε γράμματα*, nothing is said of his being a slave. *D.* ‖ **χοίνικας παχείας**, a sort of *wooden shackles* or *stocks* for the feet. χοῖνιξ means (besides a chœnix), the *nave* or *box* of a wheel ; hence it was probably a sort of (*bottomless*) *wooden box*, or *thick hoop*, in which the feet were thrust ; probably the *crassæ compĕdes* of Plaut. (Capt. 3, 5, 64 and 74). The Scholiast observes, that *εἰκὼν δουλεύειν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν δούλων ἐπήγαγε τὰς πέδας λέγων*. ‖ **ξύλον**. "The wood with which, as Demosthenes asserts, Tromês was loaded, may have been the stocks in which the feet of prisoners and criminals were confined. Aristoph. Equites, v. 702 : *ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δήσω σε, νὴ τὸν οὐρανόν* (Schol. *ἐν τῇ ποδοκάκῃ*), or perhaps a wooden collar which rested on the shoulders like a Spanish mantle : cf. the 'Clouds' of the same author, v. 592 : *εἶτα φιμώσητε τοῦτον τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν αὐχένα*. In the 'Captivi' of Plautus, ii. 2, 107, Tyndarus expresses his satisfaction 'quod collus collariâ caret.' The hero Calamites is only known to us from this passage, and was equally a stranger to the old grammarians. The name reminds us of the *Κύπρις ἐν καλάμοις*, ap. Athenæus xiii. Comp. Theocrit. Idyll. 28, 4. Cf. with the narrative of Demosthenes what Æschines (Or. de F. Leg. c. 42), says of his father, from which it seems probable that he had fallen into poverty on account of the political circumstances of the time." *J.* With respect to **πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι**, it is probably impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion. There seems to be a key in Or. de Fals. Leg. 419, where his father is said to have lived *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ*: hence Schæf. ingeniously guesses, that this physician may have been called by the nickname of *ὁ καλαμίτης*, from his skill in using his *splints* (*καλαμοί*, *reeds* or *canes*), in setting bones; hence he would read, *τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἥρῳ*, *Heros, the bone-setter*. Others imagine that *ὁ Καλαμίτης was a patron deity of schoolmasters*. ‖ **μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις—χρωμένη**. Rhet. ad Herenn. iv. 34 : "Translatio est cum verbum in quandam rem transfertur ex alia re. Ea utimur—obscœnitatis vitandæ causa sic ; cujus mater quotidianis nuptiis delectatur." D. *Quotidianus*=*καθημερινός*· whereas *μεθημερινός* = *diurnus*. So that *μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι* are, not *daily-repeated marriages*, but *marriages in broad daylight*. Dem. uses the euphemistic term *γάμοι*, which at once avoids the coarse name, and points out, by *contrast*, the vileness of the true thing. *Μεθημερινός* implies that she

(P. 30). was too shameless to wait for the obscurity of night. ‖ **κλείσιον**, al. *κλίσιον*, *tugurium*; any *shed* or hut; whether a shed for carts and horses, a *stall* or *shop* for petty traders, or a *brothel*. ‖ **τὸν καλ. ἀνδρίαντα.** A grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota says: *ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ καλός ἀνδριάς μου.* There is probably, therefore, an allusion to his being a *pretty boy*. D. thinks that there is a further and more recondite allusion to the *tameness* of Æschines's action, with reference to which he quotes Dem. de Fals. Leg. 421. ‖ **τριταγωνιστήν.** Dem. often twits him with his want of success in his first profession. The *third actor* acted only subordinate parts, especially *τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας*, 19, 247. *Wst.* ‖ **ἀλλ' ὡς—ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία**, &c. On the use of *ἀλλά* in a succession of *suppositions* made to be *rejected*, cf. Gr. 1444, *j* (last examples); and Pract. Intr. ii. 28. ‖ **ἀνέστησεν**, *raised her up* = *removed* her from her honorable trade (*ἐργασία*). The propriety of *ἀνέστησεν* lies in its adaptation to the technical Greek expressions for *prostare in lupanari*; e. g. *καθῆσθαι* (*καθέζεσθαι*) *ἐπ' οἰκήματος*. In all probability, Phormio (*τριηραύλης, a ship's piper*) married her. ‖ **ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι** = *ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν ἃ βεβίωκεν, from his own life itself; from the circumstances of his life, and nothing else.—ἃ βεβίωκεν*, by the usual extension of the acc. cognatæ sign. Cf. § 198 [p. 45, B]: "*δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ*, ex vita, quam agis rebusque quas facis et non facis. Orat. in Mid. p. 558: *ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔζης*, ex reliquo vitæ genere. *Τὰ τούτῳ βεβιωμένα* adv. Androt. 600, et ib. 617, *οἷά σοι βεβίωται.*" *D.* I have no doubt myself that *ἃ βεβίωκεν* is the true nom. to *ἦν*, though it is certain that Rutilius Lupus understood the passage differently. He cites it (p. 56) as an instance of metanoia, and translates it thus: "parentes appellat, quos scitis non ignotos fuisse, sed hujusmodi, ut omnes hoc exsecrarentur. Sed hic bonus vir, grandis orator, atque sero, sero loquor! immo vero nuper, atque his paucis diebus, simul et Atheniensis et eloquens est factus." *J.*

D **οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται**, neque enim vulgaris generis erant (*ἃ βεβίωκεν*), sed qualia populus exsecratur.—*τὰ τυχόντα* = vulgaria, vilia, mediocria, ubivis obvia = *οὐ γὰρ τούτων ἃ ἔτυχεν* [= *τῶν τυχόντων*, of *ordinary*, *every-day* crimes] *ἦν, ἀλλὰ*, &c. *D.*—Other interpreters make *τούτων ὧν masculine*, and either understand them to mean (1) that Æschines was not *ὧν ἔτυχε* (= *τῶν τυχόντων*) an *every day* (*common-place*) *person*, any *ordinary offender*, or the like; or (2) that he was not really the son of those persons *ὧν ἔτυχε*, into whose hands he fell, and whose son he pretended to be, apparently respectable, quiet persons, like Atromētus and Glaucothea. So the last editor, *Westermann*. Sommer considers *ὧν ἔτυχεν* to mean those *whom he has come to belong to*; he did not originally belong to that rank *in which you now see him.—ἀλλ' οἷς—καταρᾶται.* He alludes to the public prayer made by the herald before the assembly was opened; one petition of which was, that the gods "would utterly destroy, with

their families, all who were ill-disposed towards the welfare of the state, or aimed at usurping sovereignty, or entered into conspiracy with the Persians to injure the Athenians, or consented for a bribe wilfully to mislead and deceive the people." *Schömann*, p. 98. ‖ χθὲς —καὶ πρώην, like our *but yesterday*; a phrase to denote, contemptuously, what is of the most recent origin. ‖ μὲν οὖν, immo vero. ‖ ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον. Bene Schaef.: "Aliquando gravius opinor quam ὠνόμασεν: quippe hoc verbo sarcasticæ quid acerbitatis indicari videtur. Quod quale sit, facile sentias, si memineris ἀτρόμητος etiam ἀπαθεστικῶς dici de intrepido. Antipater in Antholog. Palat. t. i. p. 270: Ζεὺς ἀτρόμητος εἶδεν." *D.* ‖ σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν. "Demosthenis verba matrem Empusam non nomine, sed cognomine appellatam esse clare loquuntur. Eique nomen Γλαυκὶς fuisse tradit Apollonius de Æschine agens t. iii. p. 13. Reisk. p. 247. Bekk. μητρὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ Αἰσχίνης Γλαυκοθέας, ἢ ὡς ἔνιοι Γλαυκίδος. Atque ipse comprobat Æschines π. παραπρ. p. 256: καὶ ὁ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδελφός, θεῖος δὲ ἡμέτερος Κλεόβουλος, ὁ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀχαρνέως υἱὸς, κ.τ.λ. A patre igitur Glauco appellato filia nomen Glaucidis traxit, unde duabus syllabis adjectis Glaucothea factum est." *Wunderlich.* "Among the ancients, it was not uncommon for vain persons to proclaim their admission into a higher rank of society by adding a syllable or two to their names, or in some other way giving them a more dignified form. Thus in Lucian, Somm. s. Gallus, c. 14, Simon, the cobbler, as soon as he becomes a rich man, calls himself Simonides. Stephanus (in Nicarchus, Anth. Pal. xi. 258), becomes Philostephanus. Rufus (in Palladas, Anth. Pal. xi. 358), Rufus Rufinianus. Empūsa, affixed as a nickname to the mother of Æschines, signified originally one of the goblins sent by Hecatê, which used to frighten people by appearing in all sorts of shapes; or, according to some authorities, it was one of the names of Hecatê herself. (See Aristoph. Frogs, v. 289, 293.) In Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. ii. 4, a company of travellers in the Caucasus are represented as meeting such an Empūsa, who sometimes assumed one shape, sometimes another, and now and then disappeared altogether. The words of our orator are imitated by Alciphron. iii. 62." *J.* Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran. 5, 296: Ἔμπουσα—φάντασμα—ὃ δοκεῖ πολλὰς μορφὰς ἀλλάσσειν. *Br.* ‖ ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν, "quod quævis turpia lucri causa faceret et pateretur, quasi quædam Empusa se in omnes formas transformans. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 24, 43, dicit: *quidvis et facere et pati.*" *D.* ‖ οὐχ ὅπως—ἀλλά. Gr. 1492, *d.* § 762, 2.

Page 31.

ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα, κ.τ.λ. On ὡς ἄρα cf. Gr. 1449, *e.* § 788, 5. Strictly speaking, the ἀμφισβήτησις requires *two* opinions, that he *did*, and that he *did not* speak with a view to promote the interests of the state; but Dem. only mentions the more improbable supposition: "*any difference of opinion* (any notion) that forsooth," &c. A

(P. 31). § 59. [§ 132, p. 271.]

τίς γάρ, κ.τ.λ. *γάρ inceptive.* ‖ **ἀποψηφισθέντα**, *whose name was struck off from the lists* (of Athenian citizens); *who was disfranchised.* From time to time (especially when any suspicion prevailed that many names had been improperly placed on the *Lexiarchic Register*), a **διαψήφισις** was ordered to be held by the members of the demi (or of *any* suspected *demus*) under the presidence of its *demarch*, in conjunction, perhaps, with some senator who belonged to the demus. When the names were called over, whenever any objection was made to a name, the case was examined (as in a court), and the votes then taken. If the claim was rejected, the person (**ἀπεψηφίσθη**) had his name *struck off the list*, expunged, that is, from the **ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον**. Cf. Schömann, p. 360. The **διαψήφισις** here alluded to was held Ol. 108. 3. ‖ **Ἀντιφῶντα**, not the orator of that name, but a person who is only known from the circumstances in his history to which Dem. here alludes. ‖ **τὰ νεώρια**, the *docks*, of which **νεώσοικοι** (*ship-sheds*), *carpenters' shops, store-houses*, &c., are parts. ‖ **ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος**. In Athens, "every man's house was his castle," as it now is in England; and a house could not be searched, or even entered against the will of its owner, without an order from the assembly, *unless* the person making the search were himself a magistrate, whose duty it was to apprehend offenders.

B **ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν**, Gr. 1035 (807) § 664. ‖ **εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου**. The Areopagites (as the general guardians of the public morals) had the peculiar privilege of inquiring into charges against suspected malefactors, and of delivering them up to trial, even without the authority of the people. The *information* which the Areopagus presented to the ordinary court was called an **ἀπόφασις**. Hence Dinarchus says, in reference to the case of Antiphôn, **ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι** [**οἱ δικασταί**, i. e. the *Heliastæ*] **τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες**, Schöm. p. 216, 7. ‖ **ἄγνοιαν**, *ignorance*, here and below is used as a *mild* term for *folly*. So **συμβεβηκυῖαν** is also a *soft expression*, laying as little blame as possible on the Athenians. ‖ **ἐν οὐ δίοντι**, *alieno tempore et ubi ignorantes esse minime decebat.* D. ‖ **ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον**. "The behaviour of Demosthenes to Antiphôn, whom Dinarchus (Or. c. Demosth.) calls a descendant of Harmodius, is censured even by Plutarch (vit. Demosth. c. 14) as 'aristocratic,' perhaps on the authority of Dinarchus, who condemns the attempts of his adversary to increase the oligarchical power of the Areopagus, which court, by order of Demosthenes, had caused Antiphôn to be bound, tortured, and put to death. For the probable date of this occurrence, see Winiewski, p. 52." *J.* ‖ **σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ**. The Athenians had for a long time laid claim to the temple of Apollo at Delos. The Delians, who had opposed their claim with great consistency and great bitterness, had, about Ol. 108. 3 [B.C. 345], referred their case for decision to the Amphictyonic Council. As Philip was then beginning to be very busy in Grecian affairs, it was of great impor-

tance that the person chosen to defend the claim of Athens should be both an able speaker, and one who was inaccessible to the Macedonian's influence. Hence the Areopagus set aside the foolish choice of the Assembly, and substituted for Æschines the orator Hyperides (or Hypereides), whose anti-Macedonian principles were well known (*Wst.*). Some fragments still remain of the λόγος Δηλιακός, which he delivered on this occasion. *J.*—**σύνδικος**, here = **συνήγορος** (an *advocate*), not to be confounded with the **σύνδικοι**, or *judges* of confiscated property. Schöm. p. 300. ‖ **ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ** = **ἀφ' ἧσπερ**, cf. Gr. 1437, § 650, 3. ‖ **προείλεσθε κἀκείνην**, sc. **τὴν ἐν Ἀρ. πάγ. βουλήν**. The Areopagus could not set aside the choice of the people, unless the people had, *before making that choice*, decided that the Areopagus *should have* the power, in the particular case, of revising the decision of the Assembly, and even of setting it aside and choosing another person by its own authority. "Quasi dixisset **εἵλεσθε αὐτὴν πρὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν**, *fidem sapientiamque ejus vestromet judicio prætulistis*. **Προαιρεῖσθαί τινα πρός τινα** [vel **τι**], est *deligere, creare, nuncupare, delegare* ad honorem quendam aut functionem quandam. Est ergo h. l. deputastis eam huic negotio cum plena potestate. *R.* **Προσείλεσθε** verum puto ob sequens **κἀκείνην**." *Sch.* (P. 31).

ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον. "This was the most solemn form of voting. The balloting tickets or pebbles (**ψῆφοι**), were laid on the altar, and having been thus, as it were, consecrated, were taken up by the voters. The first instance of this practice occurs in Herodotus 8, 123. It is mentioned also in Dem.'s speech against Macart. and frequently by Plutarch. See Sintenis ad vit. Themist. c. 17." *J.* c

§ 61. [§ 135, p. 272.]

τούτου μέλλοντος. Schæf., D., and others, add **λέγειν**· and Schæf. refers to Poppo ad Xen. Cyr. p. 47, for instances of such constructions as **τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν αὐτόν**, for **τοῦτον μέλλοντα λέγειν ἀπήλασεν**. Wst. prints **τούτου λέγοντος ἀπήλασεν**, which he says the best MSS. have; but thinks we should, perhaps, read only **τούτου ἀπήλασεν**, or **τοῦ λέγειν ἀπήλασεν**. d

§ 62. [§ 136, p. 272.]

τοῦ νεανίου τούτου. He was really full *forty years* old. Dem. must therefore allude either to the childish presumption and rashness of his conduct, or to the *recent date* of his citizenship. So *Wst.* ‖ **οὐ γάρ**; (= *nonne?* is it not?) a question inserted *parenthetically*. ‖ **Πύθωνα**, a well-known orator, whom Philip often employed as his envoy; e. g., to Athens, Ol. 109. 1 (344); to Thebes, after the battle of Chæronea; and on the present occasion: the date cannot be determined with certainty, probably at *some* time in the course of Ol. 109. *Wst.*

(P. 32). PAGE 32.

A ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν. "Rarior locutio pr. dedecore afficere, ignominiam inurere civitati. Similiter ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιεῖσθαι legitur ap. Plut. de Liber. Educ. xii. 6, 9, 5." *D.* ‖ πολλῷ ῥέοντι, lit. flowing with a full stream [πολλῷ being *predicative*. In the *indic.* πολὺς ῥεῖ], 970 (764) § 714. Hor. 1 Sat. 7, 28, ex emendatione præstantissimi Bentleii: "Tum Prænestinus salso *multo*que *fluenti* Expressa arbusto regerit convicia..." Compare Eur. Hip. 443: Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητόν, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ. *Schæf.* ‖ ταῦτα ψευδῆ. "The occurrence mentioned in the text took place, according to Diodorus, in an assembly of ambassadors held at Thebes a short time before the battle of Chæronea (Ol. 110. 3). This opinion, however, is controverted by Winiewski, on the following grounds. At that assembly Æschines was not present, and yet we are told that he supported Pythôn; consequently, as Philostratus and others suppose, this contest of eloquence must have taken place, not at Thebes, but at Athens. Now the only occasion on which this could have happened, was that on which the second Philippic was delivered (Ol. 109. 1). It seems highly probable, therefore, that Demosthenes embraced this opportunity of refuting the calumnies of Pythôn. This Pythôn had formerly been rewarded with the freedom of the city of Athens for having assassinated Kotys, the father of Kersobleptes, for which he is praised by Demosthenes (Or. c. Aristocr.), Kotys being a wicked man, and the enemy of Athens." *J.*

§ 63. [§ 137, p. 272.]

Θράσωνος οἰκίαν. "Winiewski conjectures that, towards the end of the 109th Olympiad, Anaxinus, the Oreite, was sent by Philip to Athens for the purpose of collecting intelligence at the time that the Athenians were meditating the expulsion of the tyrants from Eretria and Oreos. Æschines, in his speech against Ctesiphôn, speaks of the proceedings of Demosthenes against Anaxinus as a stratagem by which he hoped to anticipate a public accusation with which he was threatened by Æschines, and reproaches him with having caused tortures and death to be inflicted on a man with whom he had lodged at Oreos, and at whose table he had eaten and drunk." *J.*

§ 64. [§ 137, p. 273.]

C ἐπὶ Νικίου. "It is uncertain whether this Nicias is an Archon pseudeponymus, or the secretary of the prytany, or whether the name has been substituted by a clerical errour for that of Nicomachus (Ol. 109. 4). See Böckh. de Arch. Pseudep." *J.*

§ 66. [§ 139, p. 273.]

D ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ .... ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύθ'. "For an account of the violent detention of the ships sent to the Propontis (Ol. 109. 4),

by which the peace was broken, see § 31, page 116. The ad- (P.
vance of the Macedonian troops on Attica must be referred to the 32).
time when Philip, as commander-in-chief, appointed by the Amphictyonic Council, entered Locris by the pass of Thermopylæ (Ol. 110. 2)." *J.* ‖ **ἰαμβεισοφάγος.** "The grammarians explain this word by the terms **ὑβριστής, φιλολοίδορος,** as referring to the well-known use of the Iambic metre in scurrilous verses. It is more probable, however, that in the passage before us, it is an allusion to the actor-life of Æschines, and that the word is intended to express the manner in which he murdered the verses by his bad recitation (de dispendente bonos trimetros per vitiosam pronuntiationem. *Schæf.*). This agrees with what is said in § 84, in disparagement of the mimic talent of Æschines. Passow, in his lexicon, explains the epithet as applied to a tragedian who had to learn by heart and recite a great quantity of Iambic verses [*a glutton at Iambics.* L. and S.]." *J.*

Page 33.

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι, *in my water* = *in the time allotted to me.* It is A
well known that the *time* allowed to the *plaintiff* and to the *defendant* (or the advocates of either party), was measured by the clepsydra, or *water-glass.* Handbk. Antiqq. 133, c. ‖ **δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον.** Jn. *ἀνάγκη* [*ἐστὶν*] *αὐτὸν, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ . . . μὴ γράφειν . . . ἢ μὴ φέρειν,* &c.τ.λ. On the (quasi-)*appositive* **δυοῖν θάτερον** cf. Gr. 829 (669, *b*) § 579, 4. On *present* infin. Gr. 1085 (828).

§ 67. [§ 140, p. 274.]

οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. *Οὐ μὲν οὖν* [1479, *end* (1053, *i*) § 730, *b*]. Stephens, in Thes., explains the passage thus: *atqui* [immo vero, *D.*] *tum nulli alii dicendi locus vacuus erat: nulli certe tum dicendi locum iste non præripiebat.*

πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος. Cf. Or. in Mid. 520: *δύο* B
ταῦτα ὥσπερεὶ κεφάλαια ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἑαυτῷ νεανιευμένοις ἐπέθηκεν. D. ‖ **τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν**—**δόγματα,** are the *resolutions respecting* the *Amphissian Locrians.* So *τὰ τούτων ψηφίσματα,* Dem. 20, 115: *τὰ Μεγαρέων ψηφίσματα,* Thuc. 1, 140. "Æschines speaks on this subject in his Orat. c. Ctes., where he accuses Demosthenes of having accepted a bribe from the Amphissians, and represents himself as the champion of the god. He repels the charge of having brought the King of Macedon into Greece by a decree of the Amphictyons, and retorts on his adversary the accusation of withdrawing the command from the Athenians in the sacred war." *J.*

§ 68. [§ 141, p. 274.]

τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει. "The orator calls on the Pythian Apollo to bear witness to his innocence of the

(P. 33). charge brought against him, of having violated the privileges of the Pythian sanctuary. Apollo was especially called πατρῷος by the Athenians (Pausan. i. 3, 4), because, as the Scholiast on Aristoph. (Birds, v. 1526) conjectures, he was the progenitor of Ion[1]." *J.*

§ 69. [§ 142, p. 275.]

c διατείνεσθαι = διισχυρίζεσθαι, *to make a solemn* (strong), &c., *asseveration.* || ἔχων—εἰδώς must be resolved *adversatively*; "*though I have*"—"*though I know.*" || οὗτος ἐλάττων, i. e., I am still afraid it may be thought, that so insignificant a person cannot have been the author of such evils. So De Fals. Leg. 350: δεῖ δὲ μηδένα ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος ἀποβλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι. *D.* || ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι. Gr. 1049 (807) § 666.

d τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν. "Notant veteres hexametrum hic excidisse Demostheni. Talia etiam alias reperiuntur. Alciphr. iii. epist. 51, τῆς Πελοποννήσου εὐδαιμονίας ἀνθίχεσθαι. Liban. Ep. 470, ἡμῖν τιμήσων χαίροντ' ἀπόπεμπε τὸν ἄνδρα. Tamen hujusmodi versus non sunt vere poetici." *D.*—*Amphissa*, a town of the *Ozolian Locrians*, not far from the boundaries of Phocis; sixty stadia from Delphi. On the war against the Locrians of Amphissa (B.C. 339), cf. Handbk. Anct. Hist. 314.—*Elatēa*, in the vale of Cephīsus, the key of Phocis and Bœotia. Handbk. Anct. Hist. 214, 3. || εἷς ἀνήρ, *unus omnium maxime*, 1339 (967). (Handbk. Anct. Hist. 213, A.) || τότ' εὐθὺς—ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, i. e., in the Ecclesia, when Æschines reported what had taken place at the meeting of the Amphictyons. He had been the Athenian deputy, and (as he pretended, from a sudden impulse *on seeing* the desecration of the sacred territory) had denounced the Locrians of Amphissa, who had brought the Cirrhæan field (part of the sacred demesne) into cultivation. The enthusiasm he excited was such, that the deputies sallied forth at the head of the Delphians, slaves and all, to the desecrated spot, and destroyed the buildings, hedges, &c., but were waylaid and routed by the inhabitants of Amphissa on their return. The result was the appointment of an extraordinary meeting of the deputies, to be held at Thermopylæ, for determining on some method for bringing the Amphissians to justice. In the mean time the deputies were to obtain the sanction of their respective states to the measures it was proposed to adopt. Cf. Thirlwall, 5, p. 54, sqq. || πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγειεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν. Auct. Heren. iv. c. 28: "*vehementer auditorem commovet ejusdem redintegratio verbi,—quasi aliquod telum sæpius perveniat in eandem partem corporis.*" D. || οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως, κ.τ.λ. Παράκλητοι (= advocati) were the *friends and supporters* who attended at a trial to countenance and assist an accused person. It appears that the same name was given to those friends and supporters, who were collected by an orator who had a measure which he wished to carry through the assembly.

[1] Wesseling ad Diodor. t. ii. Baehr. ad Plut. Alcibiad. c. 2. *J.*

PAGE 34, § 70. [§ 145, p. 276.] (P. 34).

ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων. A "This seems to have been spoken chiefly with reference to Charês. See Plutarch. vit. Phoc. c. 14. Isocrates probably alludes to this notorious commander, when he says (Or. de Pace, c. 16), 'Our forefathers would have made their counsellors the commanders of their armies, but we send out men as generals, whom no one would ever think of consulting either on his own private affairs, or on the business of the state. And this we do in the hope, forsooth, that they will be wiser abroad, than they have ever been at home.'" *J.* || **τῶν λῃστῶν.** Λῃσταί, as a military term, denotes irregular bands who were detached from the army, and carried on a *guerilla* warfare of surprises, burning towns, cutting off detachments, convoys, &c. Xen. Hell. iv. 8, 35: Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης λῄστας διαπέμποντες ἐπολεμοῦντο ἀλλήλοις. Lat. latrones, cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. i. 1, 72, seqq. *D.*

διιέναι (lit. to *send through* =) to *allow* an army to *pass through* a B country. || JN. *αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ, in the actual operations of the war.* Cf. *αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου* above.—*κρατεῖν*, c. *acc.* Cf. Gr. 890, § 518, Obs. 1. || **ὁποιουσδήποθ'**, *qualescumque*, 1459, *k*, § 723, 1. || **τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις**, *the means which stood at the disposal of the two parties respectively.* || **πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι**, *bellum excitare Amphictyonibus* (*gerendum*), to involve the Amphictyons in a war. || **περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν.** "The Pylæa is, properly speaking, the place where the Amphictyons assembled, when they held their meeting at Thermopylæ; but the term is also used for their sessions generally. Scholiast. to Aristoph. 'Clouds,' v. 620. Harpocr. in *πύλαι*, p. 308." *J.*

εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ', *ad hæc* (for settling these matters). || **πυλάγορος** C (the form here used by D. is an *older* form than *πυλαγόρας*). "The deputies sent by the Amphictyonic states to the council were called Pylagŏræ and Hieromnêmones. In the mission of Æschines there was a Hieromnêmôn with three Pylagŏræ. It would sometimes seem that all ambassadors were comprehended under the term Pylagŏræ, or Hieromnêmones. There may, however, have been a difference between the two. Several passages, as well as the name itself, seem to indicate that the Hieromnêmôn was occupied with religious questions." *Tittman, Essay on the Amphictyonic Council.* J.

εὐπροσώπους, *specious.* || **ἀνθρώπους**, without the article, as it is D a *predicative apposition* to *τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας* = the Hieromnêmons, men without experience, &c. = men *who are* without experience; *as being* men without experience (a *causal* apposition). || **προφασίζεται.** "Æschines tells us, in his Or. c. Ctes. c. 36, that the Locrians of Amphissa, for the sake of pleasing the Thebans, had proposed that Athens should be fined fifty talents, because that city had hung up in the new temple, before it was finished, some golden shields, with this inscription, 'The Athenians [took these] from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against the Hellênes.' Æschines undertook the defence of the city, and retorted on the Amphissians so effectually, that a general feeling of indignation was excited against

(P. 36). § 76. [§ 158, p. 280.]

περιιόντες, *going about* (in your indolent way, *talking*, enquiring for news, &c.) De Fals. Leg. 400 : περιιὼν λέγει, γραγῳδεῖ περιιών. ‖ ἐνὸς—ἀνθρώπου. Philip.

PAGE 37.

A μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα, *without any reserve, without any scruples.* ‖ τόπων, *places*, as distinguished from the following πόλεων, probably denotes *garrisoned forts* (χωρία), and similar military posts. ‖ ὅπως, dependent interrog. (= how), 1365 (986) § 877.—ὅπως ποτέ, *quî tandem*, Gr. 1346, § 872, 2, *a*. ‖ ἀποστρέφεσθαί τινα (= *aversari* aliquem), 965, 4 (743) § 548, *Obs.* 1. ‖ πολύ τι 1027 (800) § 659, 4.

§ 77. [§ 160, p. 281.]

B τὰ ἔργα τῶν — πόνων, opp. τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν (objective, = *de illis*): as ὁ τοῦ πράγματος λόγος, *Dem.* p. 1086. Thuc. 1, 22 : τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ similiter in oppositione τῶν λόγων. Plat. Soph. 234, e : ἀνατετράφθαι τὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φαντάσματα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔργων παραγενομένων. *D.* The clause with μέν will best be translated by *whereas*. "Cum enim logica ratio membrorum hæc sit : μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, εἰ ἐμοῦ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπομεινάντος, ὑμεῖς μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε, Demosthenes oppositionis formam prætulit, noto Græcorum usu.—Cur autem et quando [Græci] utuntur hoc genere dicendi? Ubi majorem vim conservare volunt isti membro, quod secundariam sententiæ partem continet, quemadmodum h. l. Demosthenes suum tum exantlatum laborem significans pari loco hoc membrum cum altero voluit esse, neque inseruit ei tanquam secundariam sententiam." *D.* ‖ γάρ, *inceptive*, Pract. Intr. ii. 173, see below, § 83. ‖ φρονεῖν τά τινος = *to favour a man's party; to side with him; to be devoted to his interests.* ‖ διαφθείρειν, *to corrupt by bribes.* ‖ παρορᾷν, *neglegere.* ‖ οὐδὲ καθ' ἕν, *in no single respect.*

C [1]Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὔβουλον. "For an account of Eubūlus, see note p. 96, foot; of Aristophōn, note p. 115, A. Æsch. c. Ctes. c. 43, speaks of him as a person whose partiality for Thebes (τὸ βοιωτιάζειν) had long since rendered him an object of suspicion, but who was equally unable, with others whose names are also mentioned, to establish friendly relations between Athens and Thebes, until this was brought about, not by the eloquence of Demosthenes, as he was wont to boast, but by circumstances." *J.* ‖ ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, i. e. between Athens and Thebes. ‖ οὓς—κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις. Οὕς is acc. dpt on κολακεύων; παρακ. would govern the *dative*. "Similiter οἷς προδόσεως αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρων τις εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγῃ Plat. Leg. ix. 3, 856, e. Vide Porson. ad Med. 734. Vides autem nunc sibi opposita esse hæc : ζῶντας μὲν κολακεύων, τεθνεώτων δὲ κατηγορῶν, unde patet cur istam constructionem prætulerit." *D.*

ἀναλαβεῖν and ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτούς, the fuller and original form, are both found, just as in English to *recover* and to *recover oneself*. Isoc. 37). Archid. 124: εἰ μὲν γὰρ μηδένες πώποτε τῶν ζυστυχησάντων ἀνέλαβον αὐτούς. *D.* Pl. Rep. 5, 467, b: ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν πόλιν ἀδύνατον ἀναλαβεῖν. ‖ οὕτω belongs to πόῤῥω. So § 220 [96, foot], οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι. Or. 19, 115, ἔστιν οὕτω τις ἀνθρώπων ἀνόητος, κ.τ.λ. *Wst.* P.) D

§ 78. [§ 164, p. 282.]

ἃς μὲν—τινὰς δέ = *some—others*, for ἃς μὲν = ἃς δέ, or the more regular τὰς μὲν—τὰς δέ. ‖ πορθεῖ, *oppugnat*. D. Sch. Πολιορκίαν συνεστήσαντο πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Diod. Sic. xv. 4. ‖ κεφαλαίῳ δέ, quod autem ceterorum omnium caput est.

PAGE 38.

παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος. "Vide Blomfield. ad Æsch. Agam. Gloss. v. 221. Cf. περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγεῖσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι, ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, similia." *D.* ‖ οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται. Gr. 1248 (923) § 862, 2. ‖ μάλιστα μὲν—εἰ δὲ μή. Gr. 1464, *e.* ‖ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. "The irruption of Philip into Locris took place in the second half of the second year of the 110th Olympiad, in the archonship, not of Heropȳthés, but of Lysimachidès; consequently, the name of the former in this, as well as the following psephisma, is a mistake. When it was passed, Elatea had not yet fallen, but some other cities of less importance were occupied by the invader. The peace, with the violation of which Philip is charged in the psephisma, could have been no other than that mentioned by Diodorus, xvi. 77, which was concluded in Ol. 110. 1, after the raising of the siege of Byzantium. See Böckh de Archont. pseudep. The events and negotiations of this period are separated by Winiewski, following Demosthenes. Whether the king returned an answer to the first psephisma, or what were its contents, we have no means of knowing; but that during this intermission of hostilities, both parties carried on negotiations with the Thebans is evident from the second psephisma, as well as from the letters which immediately follow it." *J.* A

§ 79. [§ 165, p. 282.]

ἐνδεχομένως, *quantum fieri poterit pro temporum ratione: as far as circumstances will allow*. D. ‖ καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων, nam nunc quidem nondum constituit populus copias emittere in nulla re tolerabili, = donec tolerabiles fuerint conditiones Philippi. *D.* B

§ 80. [§ 166, p. 283.]

αἵρεσις = προαίρεσις, *voluntas*. D. ‖ μὴ βουλομένων. "Dixisset C

(P. rex melius *οὐ* pro *μή*." *D.* || **ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς**, *facta conversione*; a 38). military metaphor.

D **συγκατατίθεμαι**, *assentior.* || **παραπέμψαντες**, *cum contemtu transmittentes.* (*παραπέμποντες, ἀπωθοῦντες*, Hesych.) *D.*

PAGE 39. § 81. [§ 167, p. 283.]

A **διότι** = *ὅτι, that.* || **ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι** = *the hopes held out by them* (the Athenians).

B **ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ** : as *ἐν ὀργῇ* (*θεράπειᾳ, φυλακῇ*, &c.) *ἔχειν.* || **ῥοπή**, properly, the tendency or impulse to make one scale heavier, or fig. as here, one side *preponderate.* Hence = *advantage*, &c. || **ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως.** Infr. § 307 [120, c] : *μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων.* In Mid. 583 : *καὶ τηρήσατε τὴν γνώμην, ἐφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστέ.* Phil. i. 42 : *ἂν τοίνυν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν.* *D.*

§ 82. [§ 168, p. 284.]

διὰ τούτων = *ὑπὸ τούτων*, by Æschines and his party. || **τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν.** Not *by these answers* (which were his own), but by the *exchange of notes*, couched in no amicable terms, which then took place between Athens and Thebes. *Wst.* || **οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν**, *not even if any thing were to happen*; i. e. *under no possible circumstances, happen what might.* The two *ἄν*'s are to be explained thus : *ὡς οὐκέτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο.* Cf. Pract. Intr. ii. 94, 95.

§ 83. [§ 169, p. 284.]

C **γάρ**, inceptive. See above, § 77, B. || **ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις** [**ὡς** = *πρός*, Gr. 1418 (1025) § 626)]. The official intelligence of great events was first communicated to the (*βουλή*) council or senate, of which the Prytanes may be considered a *standing committee*, who were always to be found. || **μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες**, 1124, § 696, 6, *in the middle of their dinner* (or *supper*); the *δεῖπνον* (= *cœna*), was the principal meal, taken in the evening. The Prytanes were maintained at the public cost in the *θόλος*, a building immediately under the *council-chamber.* || **τὰ γέρρα.** "The cause of this proceeding is not clear. Reiske thinks that it took place in consequence of the booths not having been removed from the market-place in time to make room for the men who were to keep guard there during the night. On the other hand, Schæfer maintains, that there was no question about a bivouac in the market-place, and that nothing would have been easier, considering the number of slaves that there was at Athens, than to have removed the booths during the night. He therefore supposes, that these easily inflammable wattles (*τὰ γέρρα*), were set on fire as a signal to call the burghers from the demi into the city. This seems the more probable conjecture of the two. Jenisch (Parall. between Demosth.

and Cicero) makes our orator say, that the booths were set on fire, 'for the purpose of more effectually withdrawing the thoughts of the people from every other consideration, and concentrating them on the miseries of their oppressed fatherland (!).'" *J.* || **πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι**, *before it* (the senate) *had deliberated and drawn up the measure to be proposed* (to the assembly). This *draught of a bill* by the senate was a **προβούλευμα**. || **ἄνω**: because the Pnyx, the usual place of meeting, occupied an elevated site. See Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*. || **ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις**, i. e., the ten *Proedri*. (P. 39). D

τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; the old *addition* to this formula, **τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων**, had, according to Æschines, fallen into disuse. *Wst.* || **παρῆν δ' οὐδείς. Παριέναι, παρελθεῖν, παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἀνίστασθαι**, are the regular terms. *Schöm.*—"The circumstances mentioned in this passage (of which the ancient critics speak so highly: e. g. Longinus, c. 18), are also related by Diodor. 16, 84, who adds, that when the messenger was introduced into the assembly by the Stratēgi, there was a profound silence; not one of the orators, who usually spoke, venturing to give any advice; nor was any reply made to the repeated challenge of the herald. In the midst of all this embarrassment and consternation, the eyes of the people were turned on Demosthenes, who rose and proposed that ambassadors should be sent to Thebes. Comp. Plut. Vit. Dem. c. 18. Libanius, iv." *J.* || **τὸν ἐροῦνθ'**, *one who should speak; a man to speak.* || **πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι**, "vos judices et ceteri Athenienses. Cf. Din. adv. Dem. 98. Ter. Adelph. Prol. 18. *Qui vobis universis et populo placent*, ubi per *vobis* spectatores significantur." *D.*

Page 40.

οἱ τριακόσιοι: the three hundred richest citizens, who were placed at the head of the symmoriæ. || **ἀμφότερα ταῦτα**, without exact *syntactical* construction, as **δυοῖν θάτερον**, above. Gr. 1516, 14, § 579, 4. || **μετὰ ταῦτα**, immediately after the battle of Chæronea. See below, §318 [121, B], 312 [120, B]. *Wst.* || **παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς**. So in Timocr. 703: **ἵνα παρακολουθήσετε τοῖς περὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ἀδικήμασιν**. Fals. Leg. 423: **παρηκολουθηκὼς ἅπασι (τοῖς τούτου πονηρεύμασι)**. *D.* So St. Luke init.: **ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς**, κ.τ.λ. || **πόρρωθεν** = longo ex tempore. *D.* || **ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν**, quid faciendum esset; at **ὅ τι ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν** foret: quod faciendum erat. *D.* A

οὗτος, ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει. *Schæf.* || **τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν—οὐκ ἔλιπον.** Or. π. Συνταξ, 176: **αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος τάξιν.** Mid. 554: **λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν.** *D.* Cf. n. on § 87, A. || **ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ.** So 19, 54: **τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησε τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι (*the conviction that Philip was with them*).** So 118, **δῆλός ἐστι—καθ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρξειν ἐκείνῳ.** *Wst.* B

ἐτᾶραι—ποιῆσαι depend on the preceding **βούλεται**, though more C

(P. 42). commencement of his reign. 'Hoc decretum,' says one of the most learned commentators on the orations of Demosthenes, 'numerem in illustrissimis monumentis summæ Atheniensium vanitatis, cui oratores ita velificarentur, ut vel e mythicis temporibus mellitos verborum globulos repeterent.'" *J.*

B **καὶ ἰδίας.** Jacobs translates it, *barbarian states, even though belonging to them* (the Athenian people). Nearly so Schæf: "**ἰδίας**, sc. **ἑαυτοῦ** (**τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων**), oppida barbara eaque suæ ditionis." The Athenian possessions on the coasts of Thrace are meant. ‖ **ἧττον**, *levius, tolerabilius* (Lambin.).

C **διότι** = ὅτι, as above, p. 39, A. ‖ **καθέλκειν--ἀναπλεῖν**, Gr. 1092 (831, 6.)

D **καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι**, κ.τ.λ. Gr. 677 (547).

Page 43.

A **κατάγειν**, the well-known *verb. propr.* of *restoring* exiles, who were said **ἐκπίπτειν** (**ἐκπεσεῖν**) *to be banished*; **κατέρχεσθαι** (**κατελθεῖν**), *to be restored*. On the return of the Heraclidæ, cf. Handbk. Anct. Hist. 239. The reception of Œdipus by Theseus, and his death at Colonus, is the subject of Sophocles's play of the Œdipus Colonēus.

§ 86. [§ 188, p. 291.]

C **ὑπὸ τούτων**, by Æschines and his party. ‖ **ἔδει**. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3. D. observes that one might have expected **ἡνίκα δεῖ** in a *general* assertion; but that the reference is *also* applied *specially* to Æsch. by the **ἔδει**.

D **τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως**. On the order cf. Gr. 695, *c* (558, *d*). On the case of **πόλεως**, 882, *b* (687) § 496. ‖ **ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι**, ego vero eo progredior, ut (i. e. *will go so far beyond what could be fairly expected of me*). ‖ **ἀδικεῖν**. Gr. 766, *g* (614, *d*) § 396. ‖ **ἐχρῆν**. Cf. note on **ἔδει**, just above. ‖ **οὐ**. Gr. 1357 (979) § 874, 1. ‖ **τῶν ἐνόντων** = eorum quæ fieri poterant. *Br.*

Page 44.

A **εἰπέ**: what peculiarity of accentuation has this word? Gr. 378, *e* (292, *e*) i. § 204, 2, β. ‖ **ὄντιν'—εὐπορεῖν** "non solum significat *abunde habere*, ut **τροφὴν εὐπορεῖν**, Hippoc. de corde, c. 8, 292 . . . . sed etiam *suppeditare*; **ἐπικουρίαν ταῖς χρείαις ἐξευπορεῖν**, *Pl. Legg.* 11, 133; **χρήματ' ὑμῖν προσευπορηκώς**, *Dem. c. Phorm.* 962," &c. (*Lob. Phryn.* p. 595.) The old reading was **εὑρεῖν**.

§ 87. [§ 192, p. 292.]

ἀλλὰ μήν, Gr. 1444, *a* (1053, *a*) § 728, *d*. ‖ **τάξιν**. We have already had several instances of this word [cf. n. on p. 40, B]: the original notion from which *this* use is derived, is that of the place or

post assigned to a soldier, then generally the *part* a person has to play, his *duty, the duty required of him*, &c.; and then, by a further extension, the *qualification* or *ability* required for the defence of a post, or the performance of a duty. || **ἤμελλεν**, sc. **παρεῖναι**. (P. 44).

ἐν τῷ θεῷ—ἦν, *penes deum erat.* || **οὐκ ἐμοί.** *Wst.* reads (with *Br.* &c.), **ἐν ἐμοί**, and though the repetition of the prep. is sometimes omitted after **ἤ**, it cannot well be so after **οὐ, οὔτε.** || **ἐνίστασθαι**, *rem (a principio) instituere.* B

τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; The answer is suppressed as self-evident: *to hold one's peace, and not make individuals answerable for what has happened, for this would be as foolish as to*—— &c. *Schæf. Wst.* **Χρή** is *shown* to be correct by the preceding **γίγονε.** *Schæf.* || **ὥσπερ ἄν** (sc. **ποιήσειέ τις**) **εἰ . . . αἰτιῷτο**, Gr. 1327 (961, *a*) § 430, 1.—Causes against captains of vessels were heard by judges called *Nautodicæ.* Böckh, Pub. Ec. p. 49. || **χειμῶνι χρησάμενον.** "Notandum, quod Græcum **χρῆσθαι** etiam de rebus malis dicitur, quibus vexamur. Sic **χρῆσθαι κακοῖς**, et, ut hic habemus, **χειμῶνι χρῆσθαι.** Eurip. dixit Iphig. in Aul. 88. **ἁπλοίᾳ χρῆσθαι.**" *Br.* On **χρησ. καὶ πονησάντων**, cf. Gr. 1133 (857). || **πονεῖν** "de singulorum instrumentorum corruptione, ut **συντριβῆναι** de tota destructione, ut quum fit naufragium." *Br.* C

ἐκεῖνος, Æschines. || **πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς**, nihil sibi reliquit indictum. *Schæf.* Cf. Eur. Hec. 341: **σπούδαζε πάσας φθογγὰς ἱεῖσα.** || **τριῶν ἡμερῶν—ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης.** From Athens to the borders of Bœotia was 200 stadia, and Demosth. reckons the distance thence to Chæronea (in the extreme north-west of Bœotia), in round numbers, at 500 stadia more. A day's march would, of course, vary with the country, climate, and season. *Hdt.* allows 200 stadia in Scythia, 150 in the east. Probably 500 stadia was about the average of a three days' march. *Wst.* || **τί ἂν—χρῆν**; On the occasional insertion of **ἄν** with **χρῆν**, cf. Gr. 791 (623) § 858, 3, obs. 3; Pract. Intr. ii. 113. **ἐχρῆν εἶναι**=*oportebat esse, at non sunt*; **ἐχρῆν ἂν εἶναι, oporteret esse, at non oportet.** Franke. || **εἴ που τῆς χώρας.** Gr. 857, *d* (709) § 527. || **νῦν μέν**, i. e. as things now are; since my advice *was followed.* || **τότε δέ**, i. e, if *your advice* had been followed. The space of two or three days (in less than which Philip *could* not invade Attica), at least gave us time,—a short breathing time for *deliberation* (**στῆναι, συνιλθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι**) and collecting our senses; in fact, it did *much* for our preservation. Short as the time was, and fearfully *near* as the place where the calamity happened was, yet still the difference was great between its happening there and in Attica itself. So *Wst.* Dissen seems to give the passage a very different, and, I think, quite wrong meaning: "those two or three days proved our safety; it is *through them that we stand erect, meet together, breathe,*" &c. (taking **στῆναι, συνιλθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι** as = liberum usum vitæ quotidianæ habere). D

§ 88. [§ 196, p. 293.]

ταυτὶ πάντα is further defined by **τὰ πολλά** = *hæc omnia quæ Dem.* P

(P. *plurima dixi.* ‖ **τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν**, i. e. the general audience 44). on the outside of the *bar.*

PAGE 45.

A **ἐξήρκει**, for *ἐξήρκει ἄν*, *would suffice*, Gr. 791, *b* (632, *b*) § 858. ‖ **προῄδεις**. The second sing. *ᾔδεισθα*, is by far the more common. Lob. (ad Phryn. 237) quotes four instances of *-εις* in *classical* Attic writers; two in Aristoph., and two in this oration: the other § 341, 15. ‖ **οὐ γὰρ ἄν**, Gr. 1302 (948) § 860, 2.

B **ὅπερ δ' ἄν**, sc. *ποιήσειε.* ‖ **τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι**, *id tu compertus es* (*ἐξετάζω*) *fecisse.* ‖ **οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροί**, i. e. *once and for ever the enemies of Athens; the sworn* (or *constant*) *enemies.* ‖ **τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους**. "Nothing further is known respecting these accusations. We can only conjecture that party-spirit ran very high in both these islands, as it did in most other places. Thasos, an island not far from the coast of Thrace, at the mouth of the river Nestus, was inhabited, at a remote period, by the Phœnicians. Both the island itself, and the lands belonging to it on the continent, abounded in mines, which were very productive. It was also famous for its wine (Herod. vi. 46, 47). After the Persian victories, it became subject to the Athenians, from whom it revolted in the fourth year of Ol. 78, but not receiving the expected assistance from Sparta, it again, after a severe struggle, became subject to Athens, and was compelled to give up its fleet, as well as its possessions on the mainland (Thuc. i. 100, 101). During the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonian party in Thasos gained the upper hand (Thuc. viii. 64), and expelled the friends of Athens, who afterwards returned to the island, under the protection of Thrasybulus (Ol. 92. 4), and gained a complete victory. An Athenian garrison was then placed in the city, and the authority of Athens re-established (Xen. Hist. Græc. i. 4, 9. Diodor. xiii. 72). The struggles of faction still continued in Thasos, as well as in the other islands of the Archipelago, and in one of these civil wars the Athenian party expelled their opponents, who sought an asylum at the court of Macedon." *J.* ‖ **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν** = *ad famam inde consequendam.* Gr. 1042, *b*, and 1044 (809, *b*). ‖ **ἔστι δίκαιος**, Gr. 1072 (821) § 677. ‖ **δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς**, cf. *ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν . . . βεβίωκεν* supra, § 130 [58, D].

C **τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα.** According to the medical terminology, *ῥήγματα* relates to injuries of the flesh or blood-vessels; *σπάσματα* to any straining of the nerves or muscles. The reference here is to *former* injuries; to *old* broken bones and former sprains. ‖ **κινεῖται**, *are set in motion, make themselves felt.* Cf. Olynth. 2, § 21: *ἐὰν δὲ ἀῤῥώστημά τι συμβῇ, πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν ῥῆγμα κἂν στρίμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ*, ε.τ.λ.

§ 89. [§ 199, p. 294.]

πολύς εἰμι, πολὺς ἔγκειμαι = multus sum in aliquâ re; rem

acriter urgeo. Thuc. 4, 22: Κλέων πολὺς ἐνέκειτο. *D.—Prodior-* (P.
thésis: Hæc figura, ubi aliquid necessarium dicitur et insuave audientibus 45).
et odiosum nobis dicturi sumus, præmunit. Aquila Romanus de fig. *Wst.* ‖ διεμαρτύρου, sc. ἀφίστασθαι τούτων. *Wst.*

τούτων, the proposals then made by me. ‖ νῦν—τότε. See above, D
§ 87, D. ‖ εἶτα has no connexion with τότε. ‖ οὐδένα—ὅντιν' οὐχ. Gr. 1242 (919) § 824, 2. ‖ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; as if none but Æschines *could* have proposed so base a surrender. ‖ μὴ γάρ = *absit enim, ut vel urbem dicam vel meipsum.*

Page 46.

ἡγεμὼν δὲ, κ.τ.λ. Since the clause τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ. A
is not contrasted with the preceding clause (τὰ μὲν πράγματα, κ.τ.λ.), but with the *two together* (*the present state of things* and *Philip's elevation* being opposed to the supposition, that *the struggle to prevent these evils had been made by any other state than Athens*), Schæf. Diss. &c. read καὶ ἡγεμὼν (for ἡγεμὼν δέ). *Br.* and *Wst.* support the usual reading. The *full logical* opposition would require εἰ μὲν τὰ μὲν πράγματα . . . περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δε, κ.τ.λ. τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ, κ.τ.λ.; but this would be unpleasant to the ear (*Br.*), and, moreover, the contrast would be too sharp between the two first suppositions, of which the former virtually involves the latter. There is a similar instance in Dem. in Lept. § 23 (*Wst.*): νῦν μέν γε τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἂν τούτων ἕκαστος λειτουργῇ, δίδωσι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀναλώσει· τότε δ' ἂν μικρᾶς συντελείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκάστῳ γιγνομένης οὐδὲν ἔπασχε δεινὸν οὐδείς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ μικρὰ εκτημένος ἦν. ‖ ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων, i. e. before and up to the battle of Leuctra. ‖ λαβούσῃ. *Wst.* observes that, strictly speaking, the λαβούσῃ and ἐχούσῃ are the *principal* notions, to which the notions expressed by the inff. ποιεῖν, εᾶν are subordinate; but that this arrangement is here purposely chosen, that the orator may dwell emphatically on the baseness of *doing the bidding of others*, and surrendering the first place at the head of Greece.

ὡς ἔοικε, *it would seem*; ironical. ‖ πάτριον—ἔμφυτον "sic differunt, B
ut illud sit a patre acceptum, hereditario jure quasi ad filium transiens, hoc quod alicui est ipsum innatum, opposituin iis, quæ quis ab aliis accepit vel edoctus est." *Br.* ‖ προσθέσθαι = se adjungere. ‖ καὶ—ταῦτα, *and that too* (præsertim). ‖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς. Τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ. is gen. dependent on τῆς ἀρετῆς. Gr. 882 (687).

ἐμέτρει τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. "Cicero de Officiis, 3, 11: 'Athenien- C
ses, quum Persarum impetum nullo modo possent sustinere, statuerentque, ut, urbe relicta, conjugibus et liberis Trœzene positis, naves conscenderent, libertatemque Græciæ defenderent: Cyrsilum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent, Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus cooperuerunt.' Comp. Harpoc. p. 226. It seems extraordinary, and scarcely probable, that the same punishment should have been

(P. 46). inflicted for the same crime on one Lycidês, a few months later: Hdt. ix. 5, where see Valckenaer." *J.* ‖ **δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν**, Gr. 1248 (923) § 826, 2. ‖ **οὐχὶ τῷ πατρί.** "Similem sententiam legimus in epistolarum, quæ Platoni tribuuntur, nona, quæ ad Archytam scripta est: **ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνο δεῖ σε ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐχ αὑτῷ μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μέν τι ἡ πατρὶς μερίζεται, τὸ δέ τι οἱ γεννήσαντες, τὸ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι**: quem locum Cicero vertit de Off. i. 7, 22, sæpiusque respicit." *Br.*

D **τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον.** Aulus Gellius (Noct. Att. 13, 1) compares Cicero's *præter naturam præterque fatum*, and puts it as a question, whether *different kinds* of death are meant or not. *Wst.* correctly answers *No:* the orator only uses the correct and natural practice, which every speaker even unconsciously adopts, of using, in emphatic descriptions, words that represent indeed the *same thing*, but under *different aspects*. Thus **ὁ τῆς εἱμαρμένης θάνατος** is opposed to one that a man's *own will* accomplishes: **ὁ αὐτόματος** opposes *a natural death* (i. e. that comes *of its own accord*) to one that is brought about by *external violence*. ‖ **περιμένει**, indesinenter præstolatur. *Schæf.*

§ 90. [§ 206, p. 296.]

μὲν—μέντοι, Gr. 1479 (end).

PAGE 47.

A **τουδί**, sc. **Κτησιφῶντος**. ‖ **μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι.** "This passage, in which the orator swears by the ghosts of those who fell at Marathon, has been justly commended by critics. 'Like a man suddenly inspired,' says Longinus, c. 16, 'our orator swears a solemn oath by the shades of those who were the preservers of Greece,—thus elevating, as it were, those patriot heroes to the rank of gods, and at the same time inspiring the judges with a portion of that spirit which animated their forefathers, and pouring, as it were, a healing balm into the souls of the auditors,' &c. Plutarch, also (vol. ii. p. 350), in noticing this form of oath, says that in pronouncing it, the orator deified the heroes of Marathon. Quintilian alludes to it as a familiar instance of the sublime (Instit. Orat. xi. 3); and a poet in the Anthology (Anth. Palat. ix. 288), evidently refers to it in his lines on the trophies of Chæronea." *J.*—**Μαραθῶνι.** The *local* dative is rare in prose, but is the usual form for expressing an *Attic demus*, as the place where an action took place: **Μελίτῃ, Μαραθῶνι**, also, however, **ἐν Μαραθῶνι**; but only **ἐν Ἀθήναις**, or the *adverbial* form **Ἀθήνησι**. Such examples as **Ἰσθμοῖ, Νεμέᾳ, Πλαταιαῖς** are rare (*Kr.* Gr. § 46, 1, 3, 4). *Cf.* 23, 196: **Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν νικήσαντα καὶ Μιλτιάδην τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι.** Thuc. 1, 73: **Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεῦσαι—ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυννανμαχῆσαι.** *Baiter* (ad Isoc. Pan. 59), says **Μαραθῶνι** = *at Marathon*; **ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν Πλαταιαῖς** = *by* (*near*) Salamis, Platææ. So *D. Wst.* ‖ **προκινδυνεύσαντας,**

in an *absolute* sense, as in the passage just quoted from Thuc. On the battles, cf. the Handbk. Anct. Hist. Marathon, 278; Salamis, 279, A; Artemisium, 279, D; Platææ, 280, C. (P. 47).

ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι. "From the time of the Persian wars, it was the practice at Athens to honour those who fell in battle with a public interment in the Ceramicus, and funeral orations. See Diodor. xi. 33; Dionys. Halicar. Archæol. v. 17. Such a funeral solemnity is described by Thuc. ii. 34." *J.* B

‖ Αἰσχίνη. "Hunc locum laudat Tiberius rhetor. p. 23, ut exemplum ἀποστροφῆς. Ἀποστροφὴ δέ, inquit, ἐστιν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀντίδικον ἀποστρέψῃ τὸν λόγον· κινήσας γὰρ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν παραδειγμάτων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τότε καὶ τὸν ἀντίδικον εἰσέλκει. Acerbam esse hanc inopinatam adversarii allocutionem in re admodum contra ipsum probante nemo non sentit." *Br.* ‖ γραμματοκύφων. The right derivation is given by a grammarian in Bekk. Anec. p. 228: ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματεύς. ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προσκεκυφότες γράφουσιν. *Br.* ‖ ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὗτος; "Æschines had praised the manners of the olden time, when men performed noble actions without the expectation of a reward. 'Which, think you,' he asks in a tone of bitter irony, 'which, think you, was the better man, Themistocles, who commanded your fleet when you overthrew the Persians at Salamis, or Demosthenes, who left the ranks? Miltiades, who conquered the barbarians on the plain of Marathon, or this fellow here? Those who brought back the banished men from Phylê? and Aristides, who bore a surname far different from that which cleaves to Demosthenes? But, by the Olympic gods! (if I must speak the truth) it seems almost a violation of decency to name in the same day such a *beast* as this, and those glorious *men*.' The epithet γραμματοκύφων, here applied by Demosthenes to his adversary, seems to refer to the office of secretary which Æschines formerly filled. Demosthenes says truly that the father of Æschines was a schoolmaster's servant (page 30, C), and that Æschines himself used to help his father in sweeping out the schoolroom, and performing other menial offices, but never took any part in the instruction of the pupils." *J.*

τριταγωνιστά. Cf. above, p. 30, C. The allusion here is occasioned by his speaking of himself as contending for the πρωτεῖα. C

‖ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων—σκοπούντας, *ad leges exigentes*. So § 233 [100, D]: ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, and § 294 [117, A], εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι. ‖ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ. "Every judge [or rather juryman], when engaged in the discharge of his duty, carried a staff, the letters and colour of which indicated the court to which he belonged, and served also as a sign (σύμβολον), that he was entitled to the triôbŏlon, or usual remuneration, when the trial was ended. See Schol. on Aristoph. Plut. 277, 973." *J.* ‖ εἴ περ. Gr. 1464, p. 336, note 6 (1053, *e*).

§ 91. [§ 211, p. 298.]

ἀλλὰ γάρ. Gr. Pract. Intr. ii. 59, C, D. D

(P. 47). § 92. [§ 211, p. 298.]

ὡς γάρ. Γάρ *inceptive*, as above in § 59, *init.*

PAGE 48.

A γεγενῆσθαι. Æsch. in Ctes. c. 43, p. 73, 15, c. 44, 73, 33. ‖ ὡς ἑτέρως (*aliter*, sc. *ac fieri oportebat* =) parum recte; infausto successu. *Br.* ‖ ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ. Gr. 677 (547) § 459, 9. ‖ ἀτυχηθέντων. "Passivi usus rarior. Dionysius Halicarn. t. v. p. 551, B: ἠτύχητο γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἥ τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα μάχη καὶ πολλαὶ μετ' ἐκείνην ἕτεραι." *Schæf.*

§ 93. [§ 213, p. 299.]

B ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. "The letter here mentioned has not been preserved, nor was it, in all probability, read by Dionysius, who cites this passage (Epist. ad Amm.). From this place the public documents to which the orator appeals, are wanting, with the exception of their titles." *J.* ‖ ἐκείνους. The ambassadors of Philip and the other allies of the Thebans, were, as such, admitted before other envoys. ‖ τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον = *in summâ, ad summam, summatim* (D.). The expression is taken absolutely, without syntactical connexion with the rest of the sentence.

C εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ', *but all tending to the same point; but all to the same effect.* ‖ ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ—νομίσητε. Gr. 1404 (1011) § 898, 2. ‖ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ = *as if.* Cf. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παῖς, *as if one were a child* = *like a child.* Pl. Gorg. 479. (Madvig Gr. Gr. § 139, 3). The ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ, having become a standing formula, is here used, though the εἰ is superfluous: = ὥσπερ ἂν [ἐνομίσατε] ἡγούμενοι, *as you would have thought, if you were of opinion that*, &c. Cf. Gr. 1327 (961), § 430, 1. ‖ καὶ κατακλυσμόν. *Wst.* says the καί is to be explained by connecting this clause with παρελ. τῶν καιρῶν, *I fear that, from a notion that, since those times are past, a flood, as it were, has also passed over these matters* (so that the past must be allowed to remain in it untouched, &c).

§ 94. [§ 215, p. 299.]

D μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. "Vide mihi Æschinem Ctes. p. 73, § 140, Bekk.: ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἥπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσῆτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς διεσκευασμένοι καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Hæccine manifesta mendacia potuisse coram judicibus dici? Immo cum ederet orationem, hæc et talia addidit." *D.* ‖ ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων, Taylor, Reiske, Jacobs, &c. understand the meaning to be, that *whereas their own hoplites and cavalry were encamped without the city, they received the Thebans into the city*; but this meaning is not brought out by distinctive pronouns (*D.*). The meaning, apparently,

is, that when our hoplites and cavalry were, according to the usual custom, encamped before the city, the Thebans invited them into it. Böckh observes, that in those days, when military discipline was less strict than with us as to moral points, troops were very seldom received into houses. ‖ τὰ τιμιότατα (= τὰ φίλτατα, poetice); i. e. the wives and children just mentioned. On the omission of the article before παῖδας καὶ γύναικας, cf. 677, *b* (547, *b*). Krüger (ad Dion. Hist. p. 99), observes that it is *usual* with παῖδας καὶ γύναικας, e. g. Thuc. 1, 89; 2, 14, 78, &c. ‖ καθ' ὑμῶν. "Plerumque κατά cum gen. est contra, in damnum, dedecus, interdum tamen etiam quod attinet ad, in favorem, honorem." *Br.* (P 48).

Page 49.

τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Στρατόπεδον here = *exercitus*. Gr. Syn. 374. A
‖ χειμερινήν. "The two engagements which took place before the battle of Chæronēa, are not mentioned by any other writers, for Libanius (iv. p. 242) merely copies the passage before us. In Ol. 110. 2, the last month of the year, Philip had besieged Elatea; in the second month of the following year, or the 7th of Metageitniōn, the battle of Chæronea was fought; consequently, the two engagements, that at the river Cephissus, and that in the winter (ἡ χειμερινή), must have taken place in Hecatombæōn, which is a summer month. Either, therefore, there must be a clerical errour in the manuscript, or the term 'wintry' must (as Reiske and Böckh conjecture), have been used for a stormy, wintry day; in which case, as Schæfer remarks, the more correct expression would have been χειμερίᾳ. See Lobeck ad Phryn. Some light is thrown on this obscure passage by Clinton (Fasti Hellen. App. xvi.), Krüger, Böckh, &c. The sacrifices and solemn processions here mentioned, and also, in all probability, the coronation of Demosthenes, took place at the Panathenæa, which were celebrated in the last days of Hecatombæōn. See note on § 54, p. 135, C." *J.*

ἐξητάζετο. "Ἐξετάζειν ut verbum militare Latinorum est lustrare, recensere. Hinc tropice cum aliquo ejusdem ordinis, numeri esse, esse cum aliquo conjunctum." *Br.* ‖ μᾶλλον δ' = *or rather*. ‖ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; i. e. you, the judges, who are bound by your solemn judicial oath. B

§ 95. [§ 218, p. 301.]

περιεστήκασι. Περιστῆναι is confined almost exclusively to unfavorable changes of condition. *Wst.* ‖ οὗτος. Æschines and his party. C

ἔπεμψεν. "For the purpose, no doubt, of repeating and enforcing the demand of a contingent from the Peloponnesian confederacy, which he had made previously to his expedition against Amphissa." *J.* D
‖ συνέχειαν καὶ πλάνοις. "continens sine remissione attentio et cura. — πλάνοι peregrinationes, frequentia quocunque locorum itinera, etiam periculosa et multis cum molestiis juncta." *Br.*

(P. 49). ‖ διώρυχα. *D.* and *Wst.* remark, that there is no particular passage in the speech of Æschines, to which this statement can be referred.

§ 96. [§ 219, p. 301.]

Θρασύβουλος. "Mention has already been made of Aristophôn in note p. 115, A. Callistratus was considered one of the best orators of his day (Æschin. Orat. de F. Legat. c. 34). It is related by ancient writers that his eloquence first kindled in the mind of the young Demosthenes a desire to become himself an orator. The passages which speak of his efficiency as a statesman have been collected by Ruhnken (Hist. Crit. Orat. Gr. p. lviii.). Cephalus, although very active as a statesman, never had an action brought against him. See τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, § 105. Thrasybûlus is chiefly renowned for his victory over the thirty tyrants." *J.* [On the distinction between Cephalus, the father of the orator Lysias, a Syracusan, who was invited to Athens by Pericles, and the Cephalus of the Colyttian demos, who assisted in the overthrow of the thirty tyrants, cf. Smith's Dict. sub voc.] ‖ διὰ παντός, sic ut totum negotium administraret. *D.* ‖ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσαν. Gr. 786 (630) § 424, β. ‖ εἴ τι γένοιτ', euphemistically, like the Lat. *si quid accidisset*, and our "if any thing should happen;" = if any thing untoward (any misfortune) should happen. ‖ ἀναφοράν, excusationem. Æsch. de F. Leg. 349 (Bekk.): νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς μὲν καταλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὶς ἀναφοράν. So (often) αἰτίαν ἀναφέρειν εἴς τινα. *D.* ‖ οὕτως — μέγαν. The οὕτως separated from its adjective for the sake of emphasis. Cf. οὕτω μεχρὶ πόῤῥω, κ.τ.λ. p. 37, D.

Page 50.

A τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν. Gr. 695, *c* (558, *d*). ‖ ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, κ.τ.λ., sed boni consulendum esse, si quis nihil prætermittens quod oportet faceret (*D.*). Schæf., strangely enough, si quis, nulla non cura adhibita, sorte fatali uteretur.

§ 97. [§ 222, p. 302.]

B πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους, multa et audacia verba jactare solitus. The *middle* is usual in this and similar expressions. *Schæf.*

§ 98. [§ 223, p. 302.]

C Ἀριστόνικος. See n. on p. 20, A (p. 118). ‖ οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συνκατηγόρησεν, h. e. nec subscripsit s. fuit subscriptor. For the practice of *subscribing* to an impeachment was practised at Athens as well as at Rome. ‖ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως, probabilius (h. e. cum majore spe successus). *Schæf.* "Malo: meliore causa." *D.*

τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἀκρίνετο ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν, tunc autem ipsa causa judicata esset sola per se, antequam harum quidquam exceptionum praecepisset. *D.* ‖ ἦκα, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. iii. 67 : ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα, οὐ λόγων τούτοις ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων. *D.* (P. 50). D

PAGE 51, § 99 [§ 227, p. 303].

ἀμελῆσαι, *to disregard.* On ἧς . . . δόξης, cf. Gr. 1243 (920) § 824, ii. 1. ‖ περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ, *that any one has still a balance in his hands.* The reference is probably to a banker (τραπεζίτης) with whom one who has placed money in his hands, is settling his accounts. *Wst.* refers it to *official accounts*, very unnecessarily ; and *Schæf.* (very strangely), to *taking the census* of the *citizens.* "Æschines had said 'We sometimes bring with us an erroneous notion respecting an account ; but when all is summed up, there is none so perverse as not to go away with a full persuasion that the result of this computation is correct.'" *J.* (Ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ πεπεισμένος ἀληθῆς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἱρῇ. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκουσιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, κ.τ.λ.) ‖ ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι. The ψῆφοι (*counting pebbles*) were used on an *abacus* (ἄβαξ), which was divided into parallel strips, of which one was for *units*, the next for *tens* ; i. e., *one* pebble in this equalled *ten* in the first ; so that *ten* placed down in this, would be taken up (τιθέναι ψήφους, ἀναιρεῖν ψῆφ.), and replaced by *one* in the next column. In calculating a *debtor and creditor* account, when the pebbles representing the *credit* side of the account equalled those on the *debit* side, the parties would *each take up* his pebbles (ἀνταναιρεῖν, ἀντανελεῖν, ψήφους), and so far clear the account. The usual reading is καθαραὶ ὦσιν, *if the accounts are cleared*, which seems to me preferable. If καθαιρῶσιν is right, καθαιρεῖν must be taken as (virtually) *intrans.* *If they cancel* (sc. each other), or *clear* (the board). There is another sense in which καθαιρεῖν *is* used intrans. with ψῆφος = a *vote.* καθαιροῦσα ψῆφος, one which *condemns.* Lys. 133, 11. *Wst.* ‖ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος. Gr. 705, *a* (568). ‖ ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους, *are known, are acknowledged* (D.) ; not = ἐγνωκότας, have resolved. *R. Schæf.* A

ψήφους. See just above. B

φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν. Gr. Syn. 96. ‖ ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν—λαβόντα Βυζάντιον. Τὸν—ἔχειν—λαβόντα = *Hellespontum capto Byzantio tenere*, instead of taking Byzantium, *and* (*so*) *obtaining possession of the Hellespont.* ‖ ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα. See note on καθ. αἱ ψῆφοι, just above. By ταῦτα he means *his own services*, as just enumerated, and the doings of Æschines. ‖ ὅπως—μνημονευθήσεται, 1313 (954) § 811. C

(P. 51). D. περιβαλλόμενος. Περιβάλλεσθαι, occupare, sibi parare, sibi vindicare, assumere. Hdt. v. 25: πόλιν περιβαλέσθαι. Isoc. Pan. § 184: τὰς δυναστείας περιβεβλημένους. *D.* || καλῶς ποιοῦντες = (*happily*) dei beneficio, nihil invideo, sed potius vobis id congratulor. Dem. Lept. 490: ὅλως δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν τοὺς ἑτέρων ἐπαινεῖν νόμους καὶ ἔθη τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιτιμῶντας, ὅταν ᾖ δεῖξαι βέλτιον ἐκείνους πράττοντας ὑμῶν· ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τἆλλα ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε, τοῦ χάριν— ἐκεῖνα διώκοιτε. *D.* See note on Olynth. 1, § 8 (p. 37, c).

§ 100. [§ 232, p. 304.]

πάνυ, ironical = *mightily, vastly.* || οὐχ ὁρᾷς; *nonne vides? nonne animadvertis?* interposed parenthetically, and (as a standing formula), in the singular. *D.* remarks that it is used both seriously (Eur. Alcest. 259), and ironically, as here. *Wst.* observes, that all the *bitter* irony is lost by Cicero's version of the passage. Orat. c. 8: *Itaque se purgans jocatur Demosthenes: negat in eo positas esse fortunas Græciæ, hoc an illud verbum dixerit, huc an illuc manum porrexerit.* D. || παρὰ τοῦτο,—γέγονε, *in eo positæ erant fortunæ Græciæ.* The παρά denotes properly a *parallel and equal extension* of the two notions; hence a mutual co-relation, as *cause* and *effect.* Cf. Isoc. Archid. 126: εἰ—εἷς μόνος Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθήσειεν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὡμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, pet hunc stetisse ut servarentur. *D.* || ἀφορμάς, *resources* generally: opp. δυνάμεις, often *of pecuniary resources, money.* Cf. Xen. Hell. 8, 32: εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν (*sumptus*) καὶ ναῦς.

Page 52.

A ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, ex quo ego accesseram ad rem publicam. *Br.* || σκοπεῖτε εἰ—χρήσομαι. εἰ = *whether—not.* Gr. 1362 (984) § 877, *l.*

§ 101. [§ 234, p. 305.]

τοὺς νησιώτας. "A comparison of the islands and subject states possessed by Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, and the revenues which she derived from them, with the losses which she sustained after the battle of Ægos Potamos, may be found in Böckh, Ec. of Athens, p. 409, sqq. where this passage of our author is also examined. After the death of Pericles, the tribute, which at the first census amounted to 460 talents (Thucydid. i. 96), was raised to 1300. (Plutarch, vit. Aristid. c. 24.)" *J.* || σύνταξιν. "Hoc nomen erat euphemisticum, quod dabatur pecuniis a sociis præstandis. Nomen φόρου, tributi, erat odiosum. Callistratus celebris ille orator dicitur hoc nomen συντάξεων primus adhibuisse pro nomine φόρων." *Br.* || προειλεγμένα, lit. *collected beforehand; anticipated.* || ἁπλίτην δ', ἵππέα, the *asyndeton* adds emphasis to the negation.

οὗτοι. Æschines and his party. ‖ παρασκευάζειν is a verb, propr. to denote *crafty, treacherous machinations.* ‖ πῶς, sc. ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα. (P. 52). B ‖ ἦρχε—αὐτοκράτωρ, and therefore could carry out all his plans without fear of being *thwarted* by any equal or superior authority. See this advantage dwelt upon at the beginning of the first Olynthiac (p. 3, A). ‖ τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί. Dem. often alludes to the restless activity of Philip. Phil. iii. 124: *καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει.* Ol. ii. 24: *οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, εἰ στρατευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς καὶ παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν μηδ' ὥραν παραλείπων ἡμῶν μελλόντων καὶ ψηφιζομένων καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίγνεται. D.*

καὶ γάρ, *nam etiam.* Gr. 1476, *t* (1053, *h*). ‖ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνον μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προὐτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, statim enim dicendi potestatem pariter faciebatis hominibus ab illo corruptis et mihi. *D.* ‖ ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων, *under these disadvantages.* Cf. *κάκ τῶνδε,* Soph. Trach. 1111. ‖ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, κ.τ.λ. Niebühr thinks that this success of Demosthenes in bringing over so many of the Greek states, and some of them so long the enemies of Athens, to be her allies against Philip, was the most splendid triumph of Demosthenes—who went *personally* to win them by his oratory. ‖ Μεγαρέας. "The city of Megara was taken in Ol. 109. 1. When Philip was once master of the city, and could play the tyrant in Bœotia, whilst Eubœa was governed by his creatures, Athens was, so to speak, inclosed in a net." *J.* C

χίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων. "According to Justin. ix. 3, the army of the enemies of Macedon was stronger than that of Philip. Diod. xvi. 85, says that it consisted of 30,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, and was superior to the enemy both in numbers and discipline. Of the Peloponnesians, neither the Messenians (Pausan. 4, 28, 2), nor Arcadians (Pausan. 8, 27, 10) took part in the war." *J.* ‖ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ. "Æschines c. Ctesiphont. in speaking of the alliance with Thebes as the result of circumstances, and not of any exertions on the part of Demosthenes, says, 'Of the expenses of the war he imposed two-thirds on you, who were at a greater distance from the danger, and one-third on the Thebans, by whom he had been bribed: he divided the naval Hegemony between you and them, but threw all the expenses on you; and as for the command of the land forces, that he gave up, without a struggle, to the Thebans.'" *J.* ‖ τῶν πασῶν. Gr. 706 (569). ‖ τὰς διακοσίας, Gr. 686, *a* (561, *c*). So Hdt. informs us, that the Athenians had 200 ships at Salamis. He makes the *whole* number of the Greek fleet 370. Æschylus (Pers. 337) makes it 300, as Dem. here. D

Page 53.

εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, si fieri poterat per istorum temporum rationem. *D.* A

(P. 53). § 102. [§ 240, p. 307.]

τί ἂν οἴεσθε — τί ποιεῖν ἄν. Cf. Orat. Phil. iii. p. 120. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἑκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;

B εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου. Observe the transition to the *oratio directa*. D. || πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον. "Observa hic primum præclaram vim dictionis, in adjectivo neutrius generis quæ inest. Plat. Theæt. 195, b: *δεινόν γ', ὦ Θεαίτητε, ὡς ἀληθῶς κινδυνεύει καὶ ἀηδὲς εἶναι ἀνὴρ ἀδολίσχης*. Ut hic contemtus significatur, sic in illo notissimo triste lupus stabulis terroris notio augetur neutro." *D.*

C ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος. Cf. above, p. 30, c. *Br.* would refer ἀρουραῖος to the notion of *rude, clownish* acting, suited only to a country village. *Wst.* thinks there is also an allusion to what is said in § 256 [107], that he *hawked fruit about*, as a more profitable trade than acting; just as Aristoph. (Frogs, 840) calls the mother of Euripides, who was said to have been a seller of vegetables, ἀρουραία θεός. || παράσημος ῥήτωρ. Ῥήτ. πονηροῦ κόμματος. A metaphor from the coinage of money. Bekk. Anect. p. 292: *ὁ φαῦλος, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν νομισμάτων, ἐπεὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὰ ἀδόκιμα παράσημα καλεῖται παρὰ τὸ κακῶς σεσημάνθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἰσφραγίσθαι.* || τὸ καὶ τό. Gr. 699 (562) § 444, 5, 6. The corresponding passage in Æsch. Ctes. 86, § 225, is this: *ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾷν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιὴς ἂν ἐγένετο.* *Wst., Rauchenstein*, and *D.* observe, that this passage was probably added *after* the oration was spoken, as an *answer* to the allusion of Dem.

§ 103. [§ 244, p. 308.]

D τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν. "An embassy to the Thessalians and Illyrians, undertaken at the instance of Demosthenes, is no where mentioned except in the passage before us. The embassy to Ambracia must have taken place whilst Philip was advancing towards Acarnania, and endeavouring to open a way for himself to the Peloponnesus (Ol. 109. 2). The kings of the Thracians must have been Teres and Kersobleptes, on whom Philip made war, Ol. 109. 2. Kersobleptes, the son of Kotys, was king of the sea-coast of Thracia. Of Teres no mention is made by the orators, but it is probable that his dominions were in the interior of that country. The embassy to Byzantium seems to have taken place at the same time." *J.* || ἐν οἷς, quibus in locis. *D.*

Page 54.

A ἐπ' εἰς ἐλάχιστα [Gr. 981 (778, *b*)] συστεῖλαι, *contrahere in minimum; minuere quam maxime.* D.

προτρέψαι, sc. *τὰς πόλεις*. ‖ **οὐδεὶς μὴ—εὕρῃ** Gr. 797 (638) (P. § 748, obs. 3. ‖ **ὁ ἀνούμενος** = *licitans*. ‖ **ἐὰν πρίηται**, *aor. subj.* 54). B

§ 104. [§ 248, p. 309.]

εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς = *probe sciens*. The words are often found in this connexion. *D.* ‖ **ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς**. "Schæf.: est *versans in ipsis terroribus*. Bene Schol. ad Eur. Hec. 903: *τὸ ἐμβαίνω, εἰ μὲν πρὸς δοτικὴν συντάσσεται, τὸ ἐν ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν*. Vid. H. Steph. Thes. c. 2540, A, ubi etiam de h. l." *D.* ‖ **ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ**, cum ne illud quidem mirum fuisset, si multitudo deliquisset in me. *D.* C

διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. "All this, and more, occurred during the first panic occasioned by the intelligence of the defeat at Chæronea, when men doubted whether Philip would not closely pursue the retreating army. 'There was not (says an eye-witness) a man, old or young, who did not come forward and offer his services for the defence of his fatherland,—for the land contributed its trees, the dead their graves, the temples the weapons deposited in their armouries; and some worked at the walls, others at the ditches, others again at the ramparts,—not one person was idle in the whole city.' For the purpose of recruiting the defeated army, Hypereidês proposed that the right of citizenship should be conferred on the Metœci, and the slaves enfranchised; and that the women, children, and furniture of the temples, should be placed in safety in the Piræus. Plutarch, l. ii. The restoration of the walls was also now completed, under the direction of Demosthenes, who had been appointed to that duty, and was afterwards rewarded with a crown for the important services rendered to the state at this crisis." *J.* ‖ **οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελές**. *Ἐπιμελές ἐστιν*, interest. Cf. *ὡς—οἷς ἐπιμελὲς εἴη τοῦτο εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων*, Thuc. i. 5, 2: 4, 67, 2. ‖ **Σωσικλέους**. "Of the orators here mentioned, by far the most celebrated is Philocratês. (See note p. 96, B.) Demosthenes was often ridiculed by him and his partisans. On one occasion, after a vehement dispute, Philocratês exclaimed, 'It is no wonder that we differ, he drinks water, I drink wine.' (Or. de Fals. Leg.) The name of water-drinker was equivalent to that of a poor spiritless creature, incapable of any grand conception. Hence Horace (1 Ep. 19, 2)— D

'Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.'

Diondas is mentioned in § 97, as an accuser of Demosthenes. Of Sosicles and Melantus nothing further is known." *J.*

PAGE 55.

τοῦτο, sc. *τὸ ἐμὲ δικαίως σωθῆναι*. ‖ **ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν**. *Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν . . . δικαστῶν*, lit. *and is for* (= in favour of) *the judges*, &c.: *it tells for them, is their justification* in the vote they gave, inasmuch as it shows that it was a A

(P. 55). conscientious and right decision.—*γνῶναι τὰ ἔνορκα = to decide according to their oaths.* ‖ **τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων**, the necessary *fifth part* of the votes, as the *minimum* that saved the prosecutor from being fined, as having made a frivolous accusation [Gr. Antiqq. 126, D.] ‖ **εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε**, *added your official signature* to my accounts, signed, or *passed them.* The ἐπι- denotes probably an *additional* signature to that of the regular auditors. ‖ **ἦν.** Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3.

§ 105. [§ 251, p. 310, *fin.*]

B **ναί** (= esto) *be it so; good.* ‖ **τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου** (that of Cephalus =) *the boast of Cephalus.* Æsch. Ctes. p. 81, § 194: *ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος—ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα, οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων. D.* On *Cephalus*, cf. above, note on § 96. ‖ **καὶ νὴ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε, *yes, and by Zeus, a fortunate one too!*** Porson asserted that γε was *always separated* from the name of the deity in such formulas; but, as Dindorf has shown, this is not quite accurate, e. g. *καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεούς γε*, Pl. Theæt. p. 155. He has himself restored it in the orat. *περὶ Συντ: καὶ νὴ Δία γε ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.*—(Cf. Klötz ad Dev. p. 283.) ‖ **καλόν**, which, just above, is the predicate (= *pulchrum est*) is here *substantivized* by the article, *τὸ—καλόν, the boast of* Cephalus. ‖ **οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν**, "nunquam dicam mihi scripsit neque litem indictam persecutus est. Demosthenes quod nunc hæc duo momenta accusationis distinguit, ea tantum de causa facit, ut duplicata negatione gravior fiat sententia." *D.* ‖ **ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.** "Significantissimum h. l. *μηδέν*: ne putes valere idem quod *οὐδέν*. Hoc vult orator: Etiamsi forte sim deterior Cephalo civis, tamen tu quidem confiteris me nihilo deteriorem illo civem esse. Tot verbis opus est ad explicandum quod Græcorum mirabile idioma solo negativarum discrimine significat." *Schæf. D.* assents to this, but it is surely fanciful, *μή*, and the forms compounded with *μή*, being proper to an infinitive construction.

§ 106. [§ 252, p. 311.]

C **διελέχθη**. "After describing the melancholy fate of Thebes, which had been ruined by the dishonesty of Demosthenes and by Persian gold, Æschines represents the enslaved citizens as giving vent to their indignation, and imploring the Athenians not to bestow honours on the man who had brought a curse upon Greece, but rather themselves to take warning, lest the evil fate which followed him, should fall on them; for never had city or individual prospered where Demosthenes had been suffered to act as counsellor. In the same way Dinarchus, in his speech against Demosthenes, says that from the first moment of his intermeddling in public affairs, all had gone wrong with the state; and, like an evil demon, he had ever led the

citizens on to discomfiture and destruction. After bringing forward several instances of well-laid plans, which had been ruined solely through the intervention of Demosthenes, he concludes this division of his speech with the following words, 'O Athens, mistress of the world! and thou, Zeus, our preserver, would that the enemies of our city had always such advisers, and such leaders!' Further on, the same orator says, 'Rid the city of this robber and traitor,—put him to death; him, who has brought the most terrible disasters on this city; him, the hostile demon of Hellas! Permit the fortunes of the city to change, and then hope for better times.' Comp. also page 101, 41, where he reproaches him with his wickedness and lucklessness (*πονηρίαν καὶ ἀτυχίαν*), and tells him that through his mismanagement Athens had been hurled from the pinnacle of her glory and become a bye-word among the nations." *J.* || **προφέρει**, *exprobrat.* || **ἦν—οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ.** Gr. 1404 (1011) § 898, 2. (P. 55).

Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον. *Wst.* thinks that Dem. here omits the usual **καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον**, because he was known to have accused the Pythoness of *Philippizing* in her responses. The cause, however, *may* also, he allows, have only been the venerable antiquity and consequent sanctity of the Dodonæan oracle. || **ἐπέχει**, dominatur, *everywhere prevails.* || **καὶ τὸ—εἰ πρόοιντο.** Jn. **τὸ ἄμεινον πράττειν** (sc. **ἡμᾶς**) **τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἰηθέντων ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, τίθημι εἶναι τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως.** *Br.* He alludes to the Peloponnesian states. In consequence of the wide interval between **τῶν Ἑλλήνων** and **ἄμεινον**, he represents it again by **αὐτῶν**, which is very unusual, to say the least. Others would read **τούτων**. Observe **πρόοιντο** (= **προεῖντο**) after the form of a barytone verb.—[Göttl. prefers **προοῖντο**.] Gr. 445 (360) i. § 269, 4, obs. 4. || **τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι.** The infinitives are to be taken absolutely: **τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι** (sc. **ἡμᾶς**, *quod vero illud attinet quod offendimus*), **καὶ μὴ πάντα συμβῆναι ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠβουλόμεθα** [Gr. 791, *a*, 415 (632, *a*, 4) § 858, 3], **νομίζω** (**τὴν πόλιν**) **μετειληφέναι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος** [Gr. 861 (677) § 861, obs. 1] **τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης.** On the inf. = quod attinet ad (*with regard to*), cf. Cyr. Xen. i. 6, 18: **ἀλλὰ μέντοι τό γε μελετᾶσθαι ἕκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἀγῶνας ἂν τινάς μοι δοκεῖ προειπὼν ἑκάστοις μάλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἕκαστα.** *Wünderlich.* D

Page 56.

ἀξιῶ = *νομίζω, ὑπολαμβάνω.* Bekk. Anecd. 412, 26—28. || **καὶ ὑμῖν**, sc. **δοκεῖν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην**, opp. **ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης.** Observe the *chiasmus* (*a*, *b*—*b*, *a*). Lobeck (Aj. p. 474) remarks that **μικρός** and **φαῦλος** are very frequently joined. *D.* A

§ 107. [§ 256, p. 312.]

ψυχρότητα, *frigiditatem*=*absurditatem, ineptiam*, Schæf., who compares **ψυχρὰ λέγειν**, Xen. Symp. 6, 7. || **ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων** (*e copia præsenti rerum*), *as far as the nature of the subject will allow.* B

(P. 56). § 108. [§ 257, p. 312.]

ἐμοὶ—ὑπῆρξεν—τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, lit. *the suitable (schools =) schooling*, i. e. *I attended such schools as were suitable to my condition*, implying that they were *gentlemanly* schools. This reading is adopted from the best MS. (Σ) instead of the usual one which *D. Wst.* retain: ἐμοὶ . . . ὑπῆρξεν . . . φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσ. διδασκαλεῖα. || καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή. His father, who had a manufactory of cutlery, left as much as fourteen talents, which was shamefully wasted during the ten years of his minority by his guardian, Aphobus, against whom he was obliged to bring an action. On this occasion he pleaded his own cause, and that successfully. || ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ παίδων, *to come of age, to attain one's majority.* Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 116, B. || τούτοις = my circumstances, as I have described them. || χορηγεῖν. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 164, A (1). It was when Dem. was chorēgus, that Midias assaulted him, B.C. 354. || τριηραρχεῖν, Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 165. || εἰσφέρειν, ib. 164. || μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας—ἀπολείπεσθαι, *to be backward in no act of liberality.* φιλοτιμία = largitio et munus publice exhibitum. (*Wyttenbach ap. D.*)

C χρήσιμον εἶναι. "All this and much more,—the feasting of the citizens on occasions of rejoicing, the building of the walls, the deepening of the trenches, the ransom of prisoners, the dotation of virgins, a sound political system, embassies and wise enactments,—all this forms the groundwork of the eulogium pronounced on Demosthenes by Lucian (Encom. Demosth. c, 16). What sacrifices men were induced to make by their ardent feelings of patriotism, we learn from the example of Lycurgus." *J.* || πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι. See above, n. on p. 20, A. || ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν, i. e. *etsi eventus spei non respondit, tamen honesta.* Schæf. || συμβεβίωκα. Another hexameter: συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν. || ἂν ἔχων. Gr. 818 (653) § 429, 3.

D τὸ μέλαν τρίβων (*rubbing =*) *preparing his ink*, i. e. by rubbing and mixing together the proper solid and liquid ingredients. || τὰ βάθρα, subsellia scholastica. || τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες, "*when your mother performed her initiatory rites, you read aloud her mystic books;*" "*at your mother's initiations it was your part to read out her (mystic) books.*"—"We have here some valuable information respecting those sham mysteries or 'initiations,' which were introduced into Attica by jugglers from Phrygia. How popular these mummeries were in the days of Demosthenes, we learn from Plato de Rep. ii. 7, who speaks of mendicants (ἀγύρταις) and fortune-tellers besieging the doors of the wealthy, and deluding them by their pretensions to superhuman knowledge. They used to carry about with them a number of books, in which their sacrificial observances, purifications, and expiations were minutely described. These they called their 'initiations' (τελετάς), to which they attributed extraordinary efficacy for the deliverance of men from evil. That these mysteries were of an Orphico-Bacchic character, has been satisfactorily proved by Lobeck; and in the passage now under con-[illegible]ation, the *Nebris* (for the probable meaning of this word, see

his Aglaoph. p. 653), the *bowl*, and the cries uttered by the initiated, P.) have evidently a reference to those rites. The purification with clay 56). and bran may perhaps have been merely, as Schæfer supposes, a washing with those detergents, instead of soap; but we are rather, on the whole, inclined to adopt the idea of Harpocration (in *ἀπομάρτων*, p. 54), that the use of clay in these mysteries had reference to the Orphic myth of Bacchus Zagreus, who was murdered and torn in pieces by a band of Titans whose faces were smeared with clay. Instead of clay (*πηλός*), Nonnus (Dion. vi. 169) speaks of gypsum, a substance which, on that account, he frequently dignifies with the epithet of 'mystic.' The bran reminds us of the fine meal (*παπάλη*) used in the burlesque initiation of Strepsiades (Clouds, v. 263), in imitation, doubtless, of the ceremonies practised by Glaucothea. Strepsiades is also crowned with a chaplet. The crowning with *white poplar* has (in the opinion of Harpocration, v. λεύκη) reference to Zagreus, the son of Persephŏnê, that tree being a production of the infernal regions, of which Bacchus Zagreus was a denizen. Magic powers were attributed to the herb *fennel* (*μαράθρῳ*). The charming of serpents, in which the snake called *ὄφις παρείας* played a part, was also practised by the Bacchantes. Cf. Eurip. Bacchant. 695. For the different explanations of the cry Εὐοῖ, Σαβοῖ, Ὑης Ἄττης, Ἄττης Ὑης, see Lobeck, Aglaoph. part 2, p. 1041. The grammarians, in commenting on this passage of Demosthenes, speak of the words Σαβός, Ὑης, and Ἄττης, as derived from surnames of Dionysus (Bacchus), who is frequently called Sabazius. The passage in which the orator speaks of the different sorts of cakes given to Æschines as a reward for his services, is also often quoted by the older grammarians. See Aglaoph. Epimetr. xiv. p. 1072, sqq. *J.* || **καὶ τἆλλα συνεσκευωροῦ**, "et ceteras impostaras curasti, s. in cetera impostura exsequenda affuisti. Sæpe est hæc vox apud Demosthenem de machinationibus callidis, fraudibus, impostura." *D.* || **νεβρίζων.** "Νεβρίζων Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος· οἱ μὲν ὡς τοῦ τελοῦντος νεβρίδα ἐνημμένου ἢ καὶ τοὺς τελουμένους διαζωννύντος. Ultimum verum est, cum hæc participia accusativum *τελουμένους* regant. Cæterum *νεβρίδος* usum in Bacchicis rebus quis nescit?" *D.* || **κρατηρίζων.** Photius: *οἶνον ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων.* Cum Hesychius *ἐκρατηρίσθημεν* explicet p. *ἐμεθύσθημεν*, patet activum verti posse imbuere vino, quod hic tenendum videtur." *D.* || **καὶ— καλεόων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον."** Those who were undergoing the act of purification, sat on the ground, like mourners and penitents, and when it was completed were ordered to rise.—"Formula absolutoria fuisse videtur, dicit Lobeck., qua sacris perfuncti probeque defæcati recuperatam deorum gratiam sibi gratularentur, ac comparat sacra nuptialia, ubi puer patrimus matrimus eadem verba pronuntiabat, quod testantur Suidas v. *ἔφυγον*, *κ.τ.λ.* et Plut. Prov. Alex. xvi. 1255: *νόμος ἦν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λίκνον βαστάζοντα ἄρτων πλέων εἶτα ἐπιλέγειν Ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον.* Hanc igitur formulam observabis parœmiacum versum esse ut alias, tum

(P. 56). Æschines præibat sacro ululatu." *D.* || **μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὁλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον.** Dem. often alludes to the fine organ, the deep sonorous voice of his opponent, e. g. Fals. Leg. 449; hence he calls him below **εὐφωνος, λαμπρόφωνος.**

Page 57.

A **τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους—τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθρῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ.** Harpoc. v. λεύκη· ὅτι οἱ τὰ Βακχικὰ τελούμενοι τῇ λεύκῃ στέφονται, διὰ τὸ χθόνιον εἶναι τὸ φυτόν, χθόνιον δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον· τὴν δὲ λεύκην πεφυκέναι φασὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἀχέροντι, δθεν καὶ ἀχερωΐδα καλεῖσθαι παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, cf. Hom. Il. 13, 389. 16, 482. *D.* On λεύκη and *μάραθρον* see the note on *μητρὶ τελούσῃ*, on the last page. || **τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παραίας θλίβων.** "Est genus serpentium ingentibus maxillis, unde nomen, ut tradunt Harpoc. et Hesych. Dicebantur neminem lædere morsu. Etiam horum usus erat in Bacchicis rebus, cf. Eurip. Bacch. 695, seqq." *D.* || **ἔξαρχος,** *their precentor; προηγεμών, their leader in the dance.* **Κιττοφόρος,** for the *ivy* was sacred to Dionysus. *Αἰκνοφόρος, bearing the mystic van* (*mystica vannus*, ap. Serv. ad Georg. 1, 166, *quod Liberi patris sacra ad purgationem animæ pertinebant, et sic homines ejus mysteriis purgabantur, sicut vannis frumenta purgantur*). || "Cum **θρύπτειν** coqui dicerentur panem, quem in vinum aut jus conciderent, sunt **ἐνθρυπτα** passim hæc intrita e crustulis; sed nunc de placenta agitur, puta similis generis. Fuit opus pistorium vino admixto coctum." *D.* || **στρεπτοί** [*twists*], "ut ipsum nomen indicat, rotundæ ac tortæ sunt placentæ, quarum varia genera affert Lobeck." *D.* || **νεήλατα.** "Harpoc.: *νεήλατα ἀντὶ τοῦ νεήλατα ἄλφιτα, τὰ νεωστὶ ἀληλεσμένα, ἃ δὴ μίλιτι ἀναδεύοντες ἀσταφίδας τε καὶ χλωροὺς ἐρεβίνθους ἐπεμβαλόντες τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ τελοῦσιν ἔνεμον, ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἀμβροσίαν, οἱ δὲ μακαρίαν.* Nomen potius ab **ἐλαύνειν** compositum esse monet Lobeckius, veluti Hesych. habet **Ἔλατρα πίμματα πρὸς θυσίαν,** et **Ἐλατὴρ πίμμα πλακουντῶδες ἢ ἄρτος, πλατύς, ἐν ᾧ ἔτνος ἐτίθεσαν καὶ προσῆγον τῷ βωμῷ,** Suid. cf. interprett. ad Aristoph. Equitt. 1190." *D.* || **ἐπειδή δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε** (quocunque modo), his father having, as Dem. asserts, been a *slave*. || **ἐπειδή γε.** The *γε* resumptive after a parenthesis.

B **τῶν προϋπηργμένων.** Τὰ *προϋπηργμένα*, præcedentia facta. So Aristot. Rhet. i. 9, 3. *D.* || **τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις.** "Sic dicit, opinor, quod in partibus suis agendis inepte et contra naturam *ὑπερπαθοῦντες* spectatoribus risum moverent." *Schæf.* || **Σιμύλῳ, ε.τ.λ.** "These two bad actors are mentioned (probably from this passage) by the anonymous author of the Life of Æschines, as travelling round the country in company with Æschines. (See note § 84, D.) The name of one of them is differently spelt in different manuscripts, some of them having **Σιμύδῳ,** and the older copies **Σιμύκῃ.** The latter of these readings is adopted by Athenæus viii. Harpocration has **Σιμύλος.** The *βαρυστόνους ὑποκριτάς* has been borrowed from this passage by Philostratus, Vit. Soph. i. 18." *J.* || **σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ**

ἐλάας συλλέγων. The Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς took place at the time of the vintage, in the month Poseideôn. ‖ οὐκ ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τρέχειν, θέειν, are like our *running*, &c. *for one's life*. ‖ ἀσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος —πόλεμος, "h. e. implacabile bellum, ubi neque de pacis conditionibus agitur nec præconum usus est." *D.* ‖ τραύματα. "We are reminded here of the reply of the poet Eumolpus to Eucolius (Petron. c. 90), who had threatened him with a shower of stones: 'O mi adolescens, non hodie primum auspicatus sum: immo quoties theatrum ut recitarem aliquid intravi, hac me adventicia excipere frequentia solet." *J.* (P. 57).

λαγὼ βίον ζῆς. "Dicuntur leporis vitam vivere qui semper anxii trepidique vivunt; nam, ut est apud Herodot. iii. 108: ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ac ne somnum quidem capit nisi oculis apertis." *D.* ‖ χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων. Diodor. xvi. 86: τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἥλωσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων. *D.* C

§ 109. [§ 265, p. 315.]

ἐτέλουν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην, "h. e. tu Sabaziis vilibus infti abas, ego initiabar sanctissimis Eleusiniis mysteriis: hæc enim haud dubie intelligit, quibus fere omnes Athenienses initiati erant." *D.* ‖ ἐκπίπτειν (= *exire*) is the verb. propr. of the *actor* who is hissed off the stage. ‖ ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. Cf. de F. Leg. p. 449: ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως, ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστῆναι. *D.*—ἐκσυρίττειν, *to hiss* off the stage: also ἐκβάλλειν, *to pelt off*. D

Page 58. § 110. [§ 267, p. 315.]

παραναγιγνώσκειν is to recite any passage for the purpose of comparison with some other passage that has been quoted. ‖ λυμαίνεσθαι = to *murder* (a passage by bad delivery). ‖ ἥκω νεκρῶν, κ.τ.λ. This verse, spoken by the ghost of Polydōrus, is the opening verse of the Hecuba of Euripides; the line next quoted is from some play that is no longer extant. A

κακὸν κακῶς. This combination of an adjective with its homonymous adverb is very common; its use is here suggested by the immediately preceding κακαγγελεῖν. ‖ πονηρόν belongs to τριταγωνιστήν as well as to πολίτην. B

§ 111. [§ 268, p. 316.]

κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. So Orat. adv. Bœot. 1013: ἐβουλόμην τἂν ὦ ἄνδρες δικάσαι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι. Νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτως ἐστὲ κοινοὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωποι, ὥστ', κ.τ.λ., and so in many passages. *D.*

(P. λύσασθαι, to *redeem* a captive from slavery. Dem. de F. Leg. § 169, 58). proves the assertion here made: φέρε δὴ καὶ ὅσους αὐτὸς ἐλυσάμην τῶν
C αἰχμαλώτων, εἶπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς,—ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐπεισχθέντες μηδ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λελυτρῶσθαι πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου προσδοκωμένων ἀφεθήσεσθαι, ἔδωκα δωρεὰν τὰ λύτρα. ‖ συνεκδιδόναι τινὶ θυγατέρα = *to assist a man in giving a marriage portion to his daughter.* See next note. ‖ ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Cic. de Amic. 20, 71: *odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quæ meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit.* Wst. Among such actions, a well-known one was the assisting poor Athenians to bury their relations. Cf. Corn. Nep. Cim. 4: *complures pauperes mortuos, qui, unde efferrentur, non reliquerent, suo sumptu extulit.* So Lys. 19, 157: ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορουῦσι συνεξίδωκε θυγατέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς, τοὺς δ' ἐλύσατο ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς δ' εἰς ταφὴν παρεῖχεν ἀργύριον. ‖ μικροῦ δεῖν, propemodum, 1520, 6 (684) § 864, 1. ‖ οὐδέν, sc. ἂν εἴποιμι. ‖ οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, sc. ποιεῖν.

§ 112. [§ 270, p. 316.]

D πολλὰ καὶ δεινά. Gr. 1476, *c*, § 759, 2. ‖ φορά, impetus.

Page 59.

A ἐπιβάλλει, *pertinet.* See p. 55, last line. ‖ αὐτοκράτωρ, i. e. like Philip. ‖ οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, neque enim profecto benevolentia ductus concessisti mihi lætas spes et admirationem et honores. —ἐλπίδας = spes laudis et præmiorum. *D.*

B τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος. Xen. Hist. Gr. v. 4, 31: ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου. *D.* Gr. 880 (690) § 505, *c*, obs. ‖ ὀργὴν—συγγνώμην, sc. διωρισμένα ὁρῶ.

C ἄγραφοι νόμοι, *unwritten laws* (opp. *positive* laws, enactments), the principles of natural justice, the natural sense of right and wrong written in the heart. The beautiful lines of Sophocles are well known, in which ἄγραπτα νόμιμα relate to *conduct*, custom, &c. founded on this unwritten law:

> οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ᾠόμην τὰ σὰ
> κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν
> νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄντ' ὑπερδραμεῖν. Antig. 452.

Cf. also Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 19: ἀγράφους δέ τινας οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱππία, νόμους; Τοὺς γ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρᾳ κατὰ ταὐτὰ νομιζομένους.

§ 113. [§ 276, p. 317.]

παρακρούεσθαι, "decipere, vocabulo a cauponibus petito, qui lancem pulsant, ut deprimatur onus etiam majus." *Br.* On the fut. indic. cf. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. ‖ δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστήν. Cf. Æsch. p. 56, § 16, p. 83, § 207. ‖ ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ

προσόντ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, quasi (P.
si quis prior dicens sua vitia alii tribuat, continuo 59).
hæc sic futura. *D.*—καὶ δή, statim, protinus. Gr. 1459, *b* (2).

πολὺ—μᾶλλον. "Sic saepius πολύ sejungitur a voce ad quam per- D
tinet." *Schæf.* Infr. § 305 [p. 65, B]: ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι. *D.* ‖ ὡς γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξησθε—οὕτως ὁ λόγων ἄθλος φρονεῖν. So F. Leg. 450: *αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἱπτεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀντιστῇ, ἰσακόπτεται. D.* ‖ εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη. Supr. § 110 [p. 46, B]: παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι. § 233 [p. 52, A]: παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὅν. *D.* ‖ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην. Adv. Timoc. p. 701: ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ γραφαῖς δημοσίαις ἐξετάζομαι, versor. *D.* ‖ τοὐναντίον, contrario modo se gerentem (τοὐναντίον, sc. ἐξεταζομένην). *D.*

Page 60.

κατὰ τούτων. *Wst.* understands τούτων as directed to the *au-* A
dience, his fellow-citizens; i. e. *so far as* any of them has offended him. ‖ βεβαιοῦν, i. e. by *condemning his adversary.* ‖ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ—εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, nearly equal to the usual μάλιστα μὲν—εἰ δὲ μή. The μάλιστα μέν indicating what is *most desirable* = *if possible.*— εἰ δ' ἄρα = *but if by chance.* Gr. 1449 (1046) § 788, 5. —ἀνάγκη, sc. ταῦτα ἔχειν ἐν τῇ φύσει. ‖ τὰ ὅλα = summa reipublicæ, &c.; *the public interests;* the highest public interests. ‖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Cf. Isoc. Pan. § 12: ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐστὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀποδεξομένους τῶν εἰκῇ λεγομένων, κ.τ.λ.—ἐστί τι. Τι omittunt August. primus, secundus, quartus. τι, scilic. πρᾶγμα vel ἔγκλημα. *et si qua est populo causa vel querela, expostulatio cum adversariis suis.* Reisk. Cur igitur seclusit? Tuetur etiam Wunderlichius. Sed Bekk. delevit. *Schæf.* So *Wst.*

πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτόν "Schæf. notat, intendi sic nonnihil vim oppo- B
sitionis, ut ap. Lys. p. 162, Bekk.: τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ᾔσχυνε καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ὕβρισεν pr. ἐμαυτόν." *D.*

ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς. Æsch. 3, 209: περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ C
τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ, ποῖ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κ.τ.λ. "Cic. Orat. c. 18: *est autem in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus, pœne canticum, sed ille quem significat Demosthenes et Æschines, cum alter alteri objicit vocis flexiones.*" D. Æschines was, as has been before remarked, λαμπρόφωνος. Demosthenes had a naturally weak voice, which, however, he had diligently cultivated. He is said to have imitated the πλάσμα (sweet inflexions and modulation) of Pericles, who had πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, Plut. Peric. 154, c, though the delivery of Dem. was far more animated. The people admired it greatly, but some fastidious critics ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν. Plut. ib. c. 10. *D.* ‖ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, sc. ἀγκύρας: a proverb = *to have the same*

(P. 60). *hopes and fears*, i. e. *to be in the same boat.* ‖ ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς ; ἐγώ. "Vulg, ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ἐγώ. Vocem mediam signis parentheseos inclusi. At ego, *scilicet eadem nitor ancora cum patria: spes mihi cum reliquis civibus communes sunt eædem. Me vide. aut: Num vides, Æschine, quam fidente cum vultu et voce secura hæc pronuntiem?*" Reiske. ‖ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι, nec quidquam mihi seorsim sumo et privatum. *D.*

D πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον. "The expression 'in all former times' must be understood as a rhetorical exaggeration, for the orator can only be speaking of the time which had elapsed since Ol. 108. 2, when Æschines was twice sent as ambassador for the negotiation of a peace with Philip, and a third time as a deputy to the Amphictyonic council. Since that time Æschines had taken no part in the embassies sent to Philip in Ol. 110. 2. See Winiewski, p. 235, note." *J.* ‖ τῷ δ' ὁ κήρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως ; "The popular assemblies were opened in those days with prayers for the successful result of such resolutions as might be adopted, followed by imprecations on all enemies of the state, all who aimed at tyranny, and all who had been bribed by the enemies of Athens to propose or vote for resolutions injurious to her interests. See Dem. Orat. de Legat. Or. c. Aristoc. Schömann de Comit. Athen., p. 92" *J.* ‖ σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρίθης, sc. τοιοῦτος. ‖ μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα. Cf. Herod. v. 84 fin.: οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα.—"The Bacchic mysteries, in which the mother of Æschines was a principal performer, were accompanied with the music of drums and fifes. Appulej. de Gen. p. 49. 'Ægyptia numina gaudent plangoribus, Græca choreis, barbara strepitu cymbalistarum et tympanistarum et ceraularum.' Lucian has borrowed this disparaging description of Glaucothea from our orator, in Somn. 13, where knowledge (παιδεία) is represented as saying, 'Thou seest Æschines, the son of a woman who used to beat the kettle-drum, how highly he is honoured by Philip for my sake.'" *J.*

Page 61.

A Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας. Murator. Inscript. t. i. Class. iii. 174, ubi *tympanistria Magnæ Matris Idææ habetur.* [Cf. last note.]

§ 114. [§ 285, p. 320.]

B πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, Gr. 1476, *k*, § 759, 2. ‖ τὸν ἐροῦντα, *locuturum* = one who should speak ; a person to speak, *when electing an orator to deliver a funeral oration over the dead.* Gr. 1128 (859) [where, however, the practice is improperly restricted.] "Demades, an orator of no mean ability, but a thoroughly dishonest man, was gained over by Philip to his interest, and opposed Demosthenes on the Olynthiac question. Dinarchus c. Demosth., relates of him, that he was rewarded with a statue and maintenance in the Prytaneum, and condemns Demosthenes for not having prevented such a proceeding. According to Diodor.

16, 87, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and when Philip, who (P. was in a state of intoxication, made a jest of his unfortunate 61). captives, Demades is reported to have addressed him in these words: 'Fortune, O king, has assigned to you the part of Agamemnon; are you not then ashamed to play that of Thersites?' Philip was so affected by this reproof, that he immediately tore the chaplet from his head, and trod it under foot. At the same time Demades was set at liberty; and through his influence the other prisoners were also released without ransom, and ambassadors sent to Athens to negotiate an alliance. When Alexander, after the surrender of Thebes, required that ten orators should be delivered up to him, Demades undertook the office of ambassador, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the Athenians. Plut. vit. Dem. Hegemon is mentioned here by Demosthenes as an orator entirely devoted to Macedonian interests." *J.* ‖ **Πυθοκλέους.** "Of Pythocles, Demosthenes says, in his Orat. de Legat. 'You know Pythocles, the son of Pythodorus. With this man I always used to be on friendly terms; but since he has been at Philip's court, he turns aside, whenever we meet; or if he cannot avoid me, no sooner has he spoken a word, than he retires abruptly, lest any should suppose that he had been conversing with me. With Æschines, on the contrary, he walks the forum, and converses freely.' Probably he is the same person whose conceited gait gave rise to the proverb, 'to walk like Pythocles.' See Harpocration *ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ*. Or. de F. Legat. Athen. v. See also Buttmann in Friedem. Misc. Crit. ii. 1. After Alexander's death, this Pythocles, with Phocion and others, was condemned to drink poison. Plut. vit. Phoc. 35." *J.* ‖ **ἔτ' ἄμεινον** est etiam luculentius et studiosius. *D. Majori cum favore, laude.* Br.

ἄδεια ὧν φρονεῖ τις = *vacuitas metûs ab iis, quæ quis cogitat* C etiamsi libere eloquatur. *Schæf.* ‖ **μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις.** Sic in Mid. p. 533: *ἁλῶν κοινωνήσας καὶ ὁμωρόφιος γενόμενος. D.* ‖ **μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου.** Cf. de F. Leg. 380: *οὗτος* (Æschines, when he went to Philip after the final defeat of the Phocians) *εἰς τἀπινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθυον, εἱστιᾶτο ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὔχετο ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προὔπινεν. D.*

οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, κ.τ.λ. It appears D from this, that the people elected from the relations of those who had fallen a committee, for providing a solemn funeral banquet at the public expense. ‖ **τὸ περίδειπνον.** *Τὸ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἑστίας γινόμενον περίδειπνον s. V. Anecd. Bekk. p. 294, 22, et Phot. c. 305. Schæf.* ‖ **ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ.** ὡς referendum ad superlativum: *ὡς μετὰ πλείστης συγγνώμης* p. 423, 22. *Schæf.* Gr. 231 (776, *b*).

(P. 62).

PAGE 62, § 115. [289, p. 322.]

A Inscribebantur talia στήλῃ in sepulchro positæ, cf. Thucyd. ii. 43. ‖ **λέγε δ' αὐτῷ—Αἰσχίνη.** The change from the *third person, αὐτῷ*, to a *personal address*, often indicates emotion; here that of *indignation*. D.

B **ἀντικάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν** "paullo gloriosius dictum. Nempe vicerant Athenienses et socii Philippum duabus prioribus pugnis ut supra vidimus, atque etiam ad Chæroneam prælium diu anceps fuit, ut tradit Diodorus xvi. 86." *D.* ‖ JN. **Αἰδὴν ἔθεντο ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος βραβῆ**: virtutis suæ Orcum voluerunt esse brabeutam. *D.* The construction is very harshly and awkwardly interrupted by the negative proposition *οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς* (ἀλλ—). So D., who compares Xen. Hel. vii. 3, 7: *ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην—οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε ἀλλὰ ἐτιμωρήσασθε. D. Wst.* follows this view. On **λῆμα**, cf. Gr. Syn. 91. ‖ **κοινόν** "non jungo cum **Αἰδὴν**, hæc enim sententia in ultimo versu posita est melius, sed cum **βραβῆ**. Omnes præmiis digni." *D.* ‖ **σύνεκεν Ἑλλήνων**, Græcorum causa. *D.* "Etiam in Thucydid. vi. 56, Bekkerus dedit *ἀσφαλείας οὕνεκα*, spreto *ἕνεκα*, quod duobus in libris reperierat. Hesychius t. ii. c. 816, *οὕνεκα — χάριν.*" *Schæf.* ‖ **ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες**, "se subjicientes. Activa pro mediis et alias sæpius reperias et imprimis sæpe apud Sophoclem, ut constat, vid. Lobeck. ad Ajac. 129." *D.* ‖ **δουλοσύνης—ὕβριν.** Supr. § 205 [p. 46, D]: *τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη. D.* ‖ **σώματα, ossa**, i. e. for their *bodies* would be burnt on the field of battle, their *bones* carried to Attica. ‖ **ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις**, sc. **γῆν ἐπιάσασθαι.** *D.* ‖ **μηδὲν — κατορθοῦν.** Cf. *concedendum non omnia posse: hoc enim deorum proprium*, Lys. ap. Rutil. Lup. de fig. 2, 8. ‖ **ἁμαρτεῖν = ἀτυχεῖν.** *D.*

C **ἃ σοὶ — τρέψειαν**, this is a *wish*, an imprecatory prayer, *quæ* (*utinam*) . . . *convertant.*

§ 116. [§ 291, p. 322.]

ὡς ἄν, κ.τ.λ. i. e. *οὐκ ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην ὡς εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης* (sc. *ἔσχεν ἂν τὴν γνώμην*). Gr. 1327 (961, *a*) § 430, 1. ‖ **ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν—καὶ λαρυγγίζων, with his voice raised, and pouring out his words with a full throat.** — **λαρυγγίζειν = sonoram vocem ostentare.**—"Λαρυγγίζειν τὸ πλατύνειν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεύειν περιεργότερον τῷ λάρυγγι χρῆσθαι, οὕτως ἐλέγετο. *Harpocr.*—**λάρυγξ** enim Græcis dicebatur *vocis* vehiculum et meatus, *φάρυγξ* autem vehiculum et meatus *ciborum.*" *Br.* Arist. Eq. 357: **λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.** *Taylor.*

D **δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.** So in Mid. 573: *μὴ τοίνυν αὐτοὶ καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δεῖγμα τοιοῦτον ἐξενέγκητε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἄρα ὑμεῖς, κ.τ.λ. D.* ‖ **τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν**, from the principles he adopts in public affairs, *from* (or *by*) *his political principles.* ‖ **πράγματα, troubles.** ‖ **φάσκων.** Gr. Syn. 310 (p. 295). ‖ **ἐμπεσεῖν,**

"Æschines, in his Orat. c. Ctes., says, 'I hope to prove to the satisfaction of the judges, that for the preservation of our city we are indebted to the gods and to those excellent men who have managed the affairs of the state with such moderation and goodwill; but that all our misfortunes must be laid at the door of Demosthenes.' To establish this point, he endeavours to show that the Athenians had lost the Hegemony through the precipitation with which Demosthenes had hurried on the peace: that at first he had flattered Philip, but afterwards, when it suited his views to play a different part, he had done all in his power to throw suspicion on that measure; so that it might fairly be said that the last misfortune of Athens had been occasioned by his misconduct." *J.* || δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι = *that it was through me that you opposed*, &c. Whenever the emphasis lies on a preposition and its case, or on any subordinate member of a clause, it should be made (in this way) *the predicate* of a simple affirmative proposition. || τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ. Observe the force of the *present* participle; i. e. (to use a doubtful English expression), *the ruling power that was being formed against Greece*, i. e. *the power of Philip*. (P. 62).

PAGE 63, § 117. [294, p. 323.]

φιλιππισμόν, κ.τ.λ. He must allude to Æsch. § 61 (cf. § 76) where Æsch. calls him καθ' ὑπερβολὴν αἰσχύνης κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον. *Wst.* A

ἀνέλοντας ἐκ μέσου. Cf. ἀνελεῖν ἐκ μέσου τὰς βλασφημίας, Phil. iv. 141. || τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας—πολίτας, "explicat Schæf. cives suæ factionis. Malim: quos capere poterant, qui se decipi paterentur." *D.* It is simpler to explain it (with *Wst.*) *suos quisque*. || Δάοχος, κ.τ.λ. "Some of these persons are mentioned by Libanius as traitors to Greece. Theopompus also speaks of Cineas and his devotion to Philip, as well as of Timolaus, to whom he assigns the first place among debauchees and slaves of sensual pleasure. (See Athenæus x.) Of Kerkidas and Hieronymus mention is made by Harpocration. Instead of Myrtis and Mnaseas, Theopompus reckons Paseas and Amyrteas among the Macedonian Argives, a mistake, as Harpocration supposes, of the transcriber. Polybius (xvii. 14) referring to this passage, blames the orator for the reckless manner (εἰκῇ καὶ ἀκρίτως) in which he casts such imputations on distinguished public men. Of these the greater number, especially the Messenians and Arcadians, might have justified their choice on the ground of their having faithfully performed their duties to their own country, for they could never have supposed, like Demosthenes, that what was good for Athens would be also advantageous to their states. Cicero had this passage in view in his Orat. c. Verr. iv. 26, when he says, 'Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples est, ubi iste non textrinum instituerit. Mulier est Segestana, perdives et nobilis, Lamia nomine, per triennium isti—stragulam vestem confecit.—Attalus, homo pecuniosus, Neti; Lyso, Lilybæi; Critolaus, Ennæ; Syracusis, Æschrio; Cleo- B

(P. menes, Theomnastus; Elori Archonides, Megistus. Vox me citius 63). defecerit, quam nomina.'" *J.*

D **ἀλάστορες.** Cf. Blomf. ad Æsch. Pers. 360. Sic Dionys. dicitur Σικελίας ἀλάστωρ, Athen xii. p. 541. *D.* || **ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας,** "qui pessime mutilarunt patriam suam. Asperis metaphoris utuntur sæpe consulto. Ad propositam conferri potest quod legitur ap. Ciceron. in Orat. p. reditum in senat. ii. 4, *interfectores reipublicæ.*" *D.*—*ἀκρωτηριάζειν*, prop. *to lop off the extremities = to mangle, mutilate*, &c. || **τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες.** Schol. Pind. Ol. vii. 5: *τὸ προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι. D.* From this custom *προπίνειν* gets the meaning (1) of *recklessly giving away*; (2) of *wantonly betraying*. Dem. de F. Leg. 384: *μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν θυσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ δείπνῳ πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλὰ, οἷον αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς.* (2) Olynth. iii. p. 34: *προπίποται τῆς παραυτίκα χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα. D.* || **ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες.** Dionys. de Admir. Vi dicend. in Dem. c. 23, p. 1024: *παρακελεύονταί τε ἡμῖν ὅρῳ καὶ κανόνι χρῆσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρῶν λόγων τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.* Latine Plinius dicit normam et regulam. *D.*—*ἃ—ἦσαν* (not *ἦν*) cf. Gr. 644 (524) § 385: here the *plural predicates* may have an influence. || **ἀνατετραφότες.** Gr. 297 (240) *i*, § 266, 6.

§ 118. [§ 297, p. 325.]

εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, h. e. si dicendum quod res est. De F. Leg. 425: *ταῦτα νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, εὐλαβείας οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖται, κ.τ.λ.* et Æsch. Ctes. 74, § 143: *τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (ἡγεμονίαν), εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις. D.* || **εἶτα μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι;** Marcel. p. 425, ed. Walz.: *ἡ κατ' ἐρώτησιν, ἣν καὶ δαιμονίαν ὁ ῥήτωρ παρέσχετο ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ στεφάνου· βουληθεὶς γὰρ πάντα ἐν κεφαλαίῳ διεξελθεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐγκώμια, ἐπειδὴ ἐπαχθὲς ἦν τοῦτο τοῖς ἀκούουσι, τὴν τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἐξεῦρε μέθοδον, καθ' ἣν πομπικῶς ἅμα καὶ μετ' ἐργασίας ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπαχθοῦς ἔμελλε τὴν ἑαυτῷ προσοῦσαν ἀρετὴν δεικνύναι καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην λέγων φαίνεσθαι. ὡς ἐρωτῶντα γὰρ πεποίηκε τὸν Αἰσχίνην εἰσάγων οὕτως εἶτα μ' ἐρωτᾷς, ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς,* seqq. *D.*

Page 64.

A **ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ,** *and you above all.* Gr. 1121 (852, *n*, 4) § 696, 1. || **φιλανθρωπία λόγων,** blanda verba. Or. Mid. p. 538: *οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ποιήσαντα.* De F. Leg. p. 384: *φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς,* comiter se gerens. *D.* || **ὥσπερ ἄν.** Cf. *ὡς ἄν*, above § 291 [116], and Gr. 1327 (961, *a*) § 430, *a*. Cf. De Pac. p. 60: *προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρτημένον.—ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς οἴχεται φέρων καὶ καθείλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ'*

αὐτὸ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο. *D.* (P. 64).

τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες [μου dps on ὅν, sc. τειχισμόν]. "Æschines had said (c. 80), 'I should like, in your presence, to ask the mover of this resolution on what ground he claims this distinction for Demosthenes. If he says, on the ground of his having completed the fortifications and the trenches, I can only reply that I am astonished at his assurance. Whatever praise Demosthenes may deserve for the completion of this work, is far more than counterbalanced by the blame which he has incurred for having ever commenced it. A good statesman should not demand a reward because he props up the walls of his city, or because he has destroyed the public graves, but because he has really benefited the state.'" *J.* B

|| πόρρω μέντοι τοῦ τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι, multo tamen inferiora judico meis in republica rebus gestis. *D.* || οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν. Pseudo-Dem. Fr. § 2: τὸν ἡσύχιον βίον—ᾧ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐτείχισα, τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας περιβαλὼν οὐ λίθοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλείᾳ, *D.*; and compare the well-known speech attributed to Lycurgus. Apophth. Lac. Plut. 228, F, c. 28: οὐκ ἔφη πόλιν εἶναι ἀτείχιστον, ἧτις ἀνδράσι, καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται. *D.* || οὐδὲ πλίνθοις. Vitruv. 2, 8: "*nonnullis civitatibus et publica opera et privata, domos etiam regias e latere structas licet videre, et primum Athenis murum qui spectat Hymettum et Pentelensem.*" Hence all this eastern half of the walls has now entirely disappeared. *Wst.* || τόπους, Eubœa, Bœotia, Megaris. *D.* || λιμένας, e. g. of Eubœa. *D.* || ναῦς, e. g. those of the Eubœans, Corcyræans, and Leucadians. *D.* || τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους, *and men to defend them.* The present partcp. is *substantivized* by the article. Cf. Isoc. de Pac. § 139: ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἕξομεν τοὺς ἑτοίμως καὶ προθύμως συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν. *D.* Gr. 1129.—τούτων, of the Athenians.

Πειραιῶς "With this passage, the noble boldness of which is deservedly admired by the ancients, cf. the lines of a poet in the Anthology (Anth. Pal. vii.), who demands a monument for Themistocles." *J.* || οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοί. "Tamen Athenienses post cladem Lysiclem prætorem accusatore Lycurgo capitis damnarunt, cf. Diodor. xvi. 88. Quod secundum hæc verba credas Demosthenem non probasse." *D.* C

§ 119. [§ 301, p. 326.]

τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ, "puta Megarenses, Corinthios, Achæos." *D.*

σὺ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν [sc. χώραν] ἔχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϐδέσθαι. Cf. 1262 adv. Conon.: οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι—καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις, ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίγνωνται, προείδοντο. *D.* || Προκόννησον. An island in the Propontis, now *Marmora*; it was a colony from Miletus; it had applied to Athens for aid against Cyzicus, and was one of its allies. According to Paus. (8, 46, 4), it was afterwards incorporated with Cyzicus. || τὴν Εὔβοιαν. "Eubœa, which has just before been mentioned D

(P. 64). seems to have been inserted here by mistake. Reiske and Schæfer think that the word ought to be "Αβυδον." *J.* || ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, sc. ἃ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε. *D.*

PAGE 65.

A καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καῖρον οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προσθέντα, et opportunitatem cujusque rei non per negligentiam prætermissam nec ignoratam nec proditam. *D.* || ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν. So F. Leg. 350: ὅσα τῶν Φωκίων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἦκε. *D.* || στρατηγῶν, prætorum quorundam. *D.* || τὰ ὅλα, summa reipublicæ. *D.* || οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω, "dicebant enim sæpe εἴσω pr. ἔνδον, ἔξω pr. ἐκτός, cf. Lobeck. ad Phrynichum, p. 128." *D.*

§ 120. [§ 306, p. 327.]

C οὐ μὰ Δί' is opposed to ταῦτα — δεῖ (above). οὐκ does not *cancel* the previous negation, but repeats it with emphasis, as de F. Leg. 285: οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων παίδων, ὅπως ἔσονται σώφρονες, προορῶν. || μένειν depends, like λέγειν and γράφειν, on ὑποστάντα, though ore should rather have expected μένοντα. *Wst.* ἁπλῶς, sine fraude. *D.* || ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη. The *aorist* denotes the *suddenness* of his *appearance* and *disappearance*. D. Wst. || καὶ συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους, et colligens atque coacervans verba et locutiones. *D.* A contemptuous expression. Cf. Arist. Ran. 866: στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη. 1b. 874: Κρητικὰς ξυλλέγων μονῳδίας. Acharn. 405: ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια. Luc. de Luct. c. 20: συνειλοχότα παλαιὰς συμφοράς. *D.* || συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί: Dio Chrys. Or. xxxiii.: καὶ πάνυ χαίρετε ἀπνευστὶ ξυνείροντες τοσοῦτον ὄχλον ῥημάτων. *D.* "The repeated allusions to his adversary's voice lead one to suppose that Æschines attached very great importance to this gift of nature. A distinct voice must indeed have been of incalculable value to orators who had to address thousands of auditors in the open air. The anonymous biographer is speaking of this qualification, when he calls him λαμπρόφωνον; and another in Plut. p. ii. says, that he was induced to seek his fortune as an actor in consequence of the clearness of his voice (λαμπρόφωνος ὤν). The same writer afterwards tells us ἐγένετο δὲ εὔφωνος, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε ὧν φησι Δημοσθένης, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημοχάρους λόγου. What Demosthenes here says of Æschines, that he heaps 'words upon words, and strings sentence upon sentence,' is an unintentional confirmation of the opinion which the ancients entertained of the easy and agreeable flow of his eloquence. See Philost. Vit. Sophist. Prœm. i. 18, 3. Dionysius Halicarn. (Censura de Vet. Scr. 5) says of him, that he was not an accomplished orator as compared with Demosthenes, but possessed a greater natural facility. Cf. the same writer de Admirab. Vi dic. in Demosth. c. 35. where he speaks of his λαμπροτάτη φύσις περὶ λόγους." *J.*

PAGE 66. (P. 66).

καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, hujus medi- A
tationis et studii oratorii. *D.* ‖ ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, i. e. the *extension of our commerce* by procuring the admission of our merchandise into some foreign port from which it was before excluded. ‖ τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, *for in former days all these points afforded matter of investigation*, or served for a test (i. e. these were the services looked for if a man asserted that he had benefited the state). ‖ ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος, is the recent time to which Æschines's political life belonged. *Wst.* ‖ ἐν οἷς, sc. ἀνδράσι καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς. *D.* ‖ οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος. κ.τ.λ. he alludes to the famous oracle with reference to the Megarians, which ended thus: ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι, οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ. *D.*

τίς γὰρ συμμαχία. "Hunc locum ut exemplum μεταβολῆς laudat B
Tiberius rhetor p. 57. Μεταβολή, inquit, ἐστίν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τὰς πτώσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ῥήματα μεταβάλλῃ. Cæcilius rerum conjunctam diversitatem eam appellabat." *Br.* ‖ τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; "Quid domesticarum aut Græcarum et peregrinarum rerum, quibus præeras, per te emendatum est?—ξενικά sunt pactiones, amicitiæ rationes cum aliis regibus et populis, veluti cum Thraciæ regibus intercesserunt, cf. supr. § 244 [103, D], cum Bosporanis regibus, cf. Corp. Inscriptt. v. i. nr. 107." *D.* ‖ ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; sc. γεγόνασι διὰ σέ. Lycurgus, not long before the delivery of this speech, χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς ὅπλα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ βελῶν μυριάδας πέντε ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκροπόλιν. *D.* ‖ ποῖον ἱππικόν; "sc. γέγονε διὰ σέ, h. e. nec equitatum consiliis idoneis per legem aut psephisma auxisti." *D.* ‖ τίς ἡ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; quæ sublevatio publica pecuniæ divitibus aut pauperibus contigit (per te)? *D.* The implied comparison is with the service rendered to the poor by Demosthenes, when he rearranged the *symmoriæ*. ‖ ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, h. e. ὦ λῶστε, cf. Herm. ad Soph. Philoctet. 1373. *D.*

καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος. "The Aristonicus here men- C
tioned is probably the Phrearrian (mentioned in § 33), who on a former occasion had proposed that a crown should be presented to Demosthenes. From the passage before us, it is clear that he had incurred a fine, and being unable to pay it, was deprived of his rights as a citizen until it was discharged, and had set about collecting the amount of his deficit, in order, by replacing it, to recover his civic rights (i. e. to be restored to his ἐπιτιμία)". *D.* ‖ οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν. Schæf. "Magna vis est in verbo παρῆλθες. Æschines ὁ πρότερον πολλάκις φθεγξάμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, quo tempore pecunia largienda esset ad necessitates civitatis sublevandas, cavit παρελθεῖν καὶ φθέγξασθαι." Sensus igitur hic: neque hortatus es ad largiendum neque largitus es. *D.* ‖ ὅς γε, *qui quidem*. ‖ διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον

(P. 66). **δωρεάν**, κ.τ.λ. It thus appears "that Æschines, influenced by the bribes of the leaders of the symmoriæ, succeeded in procuring the abrogation" of Demosthenes's law. Böckh's Pub. Ec. p. 576.—**ἔρανος** was the name *both of a society* of persons contributing their money for a given purpose, and of *the money* so contributed; the members were called **ἐρανισταί**. The money might be intended for *any* purpose; not only for *banqueting* and the like, but even for the carrying a measure or its repeal by bribery. Böckh's Pub. Ec. p. 245. ‖ **τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον**. See note on **δέκα τάλαντα**, § 44. ‖ **τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω**, me ipsum distringam atque distineam. De F. Leg. 348: **ἐξέκρουόν με**. *D.* ‖ **ἀλλ' ὅτι γ'**. Xen. Cyr. viii. 6, 18: *ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορειῶν αὕτη ταχίστη, τοῦτο εὔδηλον. D.*

D **ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός**; in quibus igitur rebus tu strenuum te geris et quando splendes? Orat. Mid. p. 557: *οὐ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲ νεανικόν.* Luc. Vitar. Auct. c. 17: *λαμπρὸν καὶ νεανικὸν ἔργον.—πηνίκα λαμπρός.* "Phryn. p. 49, ait: *πηνίκα μὴ εἴπῃς ἀντὶ τοῦ πότε· ἔστι γὰρ ὥρας δηλωτικόν.* Monet tamen Lobeckius etiam Atticos generalem usum non omnino rejecisse. Frequentius tamen est apud recentiores." *Br.* ‖ **λαμπροφωνότατος**. Cf. supr. § 108 D, and n. on § 120. ‖ **τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης**. "Harpocration, in reference to this passage, says that Theocrines had been a sycophant. (See Orat. Gr. Part ii.) The meaning of Demosthenes is, that Æschines, formerly a tragic actor, was now a sycophant. We must be satisfied with this explanation, in the absence of a better. That of Reiske wants historic confirmation: 'Theocrines videtur Athenis Roscius ævi sui fuisse, i. e. perfectus histrio-comicus, cum quo Demosthenes Æschinem comparans Theocrinem tragicum appellat, ut agentem histrionicam in rebus seriis et funestis.'" *J.*

§ 121. [§ 314, p. 329, *fin.*]

οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. "Laudat hunc locum ut exemplum *ἀλλοιώσεως κατὰ πρόσωπα* Tiberius rhetor p. 67: *ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μετάγει ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαστάς, ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντίδικον.*" *Br.* ‖ **τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν**, seqq., neque tamen æquum est benevolentia vestra erga mortuos utentem contra me, cum illis me componere, qui vobiscum vivo. *D.*—"This refers to the last division of Æschines's speech, c. 88. The author of the Orat. in Sallustium, c. ii. 8, which has been ascribed to Cicero, had this passage in view when he wrote: 'Quare noli mihi antiquos viros objectare. Neque me cum iis conferre decet, P. C. qui jam decesserunt, omnique odio curent et invidia, sed cum iis, qui mecum una in rep. versati sunt.'" *J.*

Page 67.

B **ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός**; "Demosthenes, in his Orat. de Leg. speaks of

two brothers of Æschines, Aphobêtus and Philochãres. See Apollon. Life of Æschines. Æschines Or. de F. Leg. c. 43. A third, named Eunŏmus, is mentioned by the author of the second argument of the oration, but nothing is said of this brother in the speech itself." *J.* (P. 67).

ὁ Φιλάμμων. "Æschines answers these arguments by anticipation in his Or. c. Ctes. Philammôn, according to Harpocration, Eustath. ad Il. 23, 686, and other writers, was an Athenian boxer, who was often, or, as some say, always victorious. In the gymnasium of Xeuxippus was the statue of an athlete, of which Christodorus Ecphr. v. 229, is in doubt, whether he shall call it Philo, Philammôn, or Milo. Of Glaucus, the Carystian, we have a detailed notice in Pausan. vi. 10, 1. Mention is also made of him in conjunction with other celebrated athletes, by Aristides. Or. L. tom. ii. Lucian. in Herod. c. 8, and Themistius, Or. 1." *J.* || οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι, c. dat. = cedere; c. accus. declinare. — ἐξίσταμαι, comparationem cum nemine defugio. *D.* Gr. 965, 4, and 937 (743). || ὃν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν seqq. "quorum, cum urbi optima eligere liceret, ego quæ ceteris omnibus potiora habebantur dicebam. Observa discrimen v. τὰ βέλτιστα et τὰ κράτιστα. Sunt enim τὰ κράτιστα, quæ præferebantur ceteris et victoriam reportabant, aliorum sententiis et rogationibus postpositis." *D.* || ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, cum amor patriæ in medio omnibus propositus esset ad certamen, quis maxime et optime eum probaturus esset. *D.* c

ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, vestrum vero nemo usquam comparebat, prodibat, dicebat, nisi ubi populo nocendum esset. *D.* || ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ὄφελε συνέβη, seqq. postquam vero ista clades accepta et non amplius consiliariorum reipublicæ, sed adulatorum et proditorum probatio exstitit, nunc tu cum tuis prodis et magnus es et splendidus certator. *D.* d

Page 68.

ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων. "In the letter quoted at page 38, Philip promises to conclude an armistice with the Athenians, if they would deliver up the orators by whom they had been misguided. Libanius (4 part, p. 240—322) gives us the substance of a formal demand made by Philip after the battle of Chæronēa, that Demosthenes should be given up to him; but that it actually took place, is not mentioned by any other writer. After the revolt which occurred in Greece, immediately after the assassination of Philip, and the fall of Thebes, Alexander demanded that the orators, including Demosthenes, who had counselled war, should be delivered up to him. Plut. Vit. Dem. c. 23. Phocion, c. 17. Arrian Exp. Alex. i. 10, 7.—Of the Amphictyonic process mention is made by Æschines in his Or. c. Ctes. c. 49, where he speaks of the magnanimity displayed by the people in not giving up Demosthenes after he ran away, at Mount Cithæron, from his ambassadorial duties, and a

(P 68). bringing him to trial before the Synedrion of the Greeks (see p. 35, end of § 72).—*Amphictyones*, i. e. commune Græciæ concilium. Cicero de Invent. ii. 23." *J.*

B **κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν.** Cæs. de Bell. Gall. i. 32 : *demisso capite terram intueri. D.* || **ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι**, spes suas in exteris ponunt. Sic Plut. Arat. c. xv. : *ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων. D.*

C **ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις.** A standing formula. So De F. Leg. 395 : *ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης.* Aristoph. Nub. 1139 : *πᾶς ἀπολεῖν μέ φησι κἀξολεῖν. D.* || **τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγήν**, date celerrimum finem malorum et cum hoc salutem durabilem (not *τὴν ταχίστην actutum*, as Schæf. takes it).

APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE MORE DIFFICULT WORDS AND PHRASES.

παραστῆσαί τί τινι (§ 1)
ἀπολύσασθαι
αἰτία
παρελθεῖν (3)
τυφοῦσθαι (6)
πομπεία
ἀνέδην
ἐπήρεια (7)
προπηλακισμός
πολιτικός
τραγῳδεῖν (7)
εἰσαγγελία
ἐπιτιμία
ἐφήδεσθαι (9)
συγκρούειν
διαῤῥαγῆναι
συνέδριον

ἐκ περιουσίας ποιεῖν τι (2). οἱ ἔξωθεν λόγοι (5). γραφὴ παρανόμων (7). ἄκριτος ἔρις. ὀλίγου δεῖν (9). κακῶς φρονεῖν. Explain Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα (9).

διασύρειν (10)
τὰ ὅλα
ὀρκίζειν (11)
οἰκειοτῆτες (13)
ἀναλγησία
κοιταῖος γίγνομαι (14)
προστίθεσθαι (16)
ἀντιπαρεξάγειν
φενακίζειν (17)
ἐξαιτεῖσθαι
ἐωλοκρασία (19)
θεωρικόν (22)
τίμημα
ἀντιτιμᾶν } τιμᾶν
ἀποτιμᾶν }
ἐπικρίνειν
κλήτωρ
ἀπαρτᾶν
ἐμπίπτειν
ὑπέχειν (24)
ὑπειπών
πλεονέκτημα
ἀναιρεῖν
ἐναντιοῦσθαι (aor.?)
αὐτεπάγγελτος
εὐχερῶς (26)
παραπομπή (27)
κατάγειν
πλημμελεῖν

τί τοῦτο δύναται; (10) προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις. θέαν κατανεῖμαι. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως (14). οἴχομαι λαβών τινα (17). ἀποφέρειν (προσφέρειν), διδόναι γραφήν (22). εἴτε—εἴτε καί = sive—sive si placet (23). μερίδος γίγνεσθαι c. gen. personæ (24).

χρηματίζω (29)
πρόφασιν (31)
παραδύεσθαι (32)
προξενεῖν
χλευασμός (34)
πρόσοδοι
χάραξ (36)
ἐπιτειχισμός
διαῤῥαγῆναι
ἐπείσακτος (36)
ἁλία (37)
ῥήτρα
ἀνάστασις
ἐπιγαμία
ἀλειτούργητος
παραίτιος (38)
ἀγνωμονεῖν (39)
οἰκισκος (40)
ὑπολογίζομαι
μνησικακεῖν
καταλύεσθαι (41)
ἀτελής
ὑστερίζειν τινός
ὑπωμοσία
συντελής

νικᾶν λέγων καὶ πράττων (36). μηχανήματα ἐπιστῆσαι (36). ἄνευ τοῦ (ποιεῖν τι) 36.

Gen. with neut. pron. § 10, p. 99, ἀγήοχα, p. 104.
Participle where finite verb might be expected, p. 107, c.
Asyndeton, (1) with verbs, p. 120, D.
——— (2) participles.

λόχος (43)
τίμησις (44)
καθυφίεναι (45)
ἀπόστολοι
ἀποστολεῖς
παραλείπειν (46)
τὸ συνειδός
διακυκᾶν (47)
διαχειρίζειν (47)
στέργειν
ἱκετηρίαν τιθέναι (45)
τὴν ὀρθήν (47)
λογίζεσθαι (47)
ἐξετάζειν
ἦθος } ἔθος }
μισθοδοτεῖν
παραγράφειν νόμον (47)

ἀγωνοθέτης } ἀθλοθέτης } (49)
λογιστής
εἰσάγειν
προβούλευμα (51)
προθεσμία (56)
σπερμολόγος (57)
μεθημερινός } καθημερινός } (58)
κλείσιον
καὶ πρψην (58)
Ἔμπουσα
ἀμφισβήτησις
ἀποψηφισθείς (59)
ἀπόφασις
σύνδικος
ἰαμβειόφαγος (66)
διατείνεσθαι (69)
παράκλη-σις, -τος
διεῖναι τινά (70)
εὐπρόσωπος
προφασίζεσθαι
προκαλεῖσθαι
προσκαλεῖσθαι
κλητεύειν
ἀφορμαί

ἀνδριάντα ἐκδιδόναι κατὰ συγγραφήν (56). ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα ὀνομάζειν τινά (56). ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθείς (52). λόγους

πλάττειν (56). Is πυλαγόρας or πυλάγορος the older form (70)? διδάσκειν γράμματα (58). πολὺς ῥεῖ. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον (60). ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλά (70).

δημιουργοί (75)
διαφθείρειν (77)
ἀναλαβεῖν
ἐνδεχομένως (79)
αἵρεσις (80)
συγκατατίθεσθαι
παραπέμπειν
γέρρον (83)
χρηματίζειν
προβουλεύειν
παριέναι (83)
παρακολουθεῖν
δύσκολος
μεταθέσθαι
ἐπιτρίβειν (84)
κατάγειν (86)
εὐπορεῖν (86)
τάξις (87)

μηδὲν εὐλαβηθείς (76). ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς (80). μένειν ἐπί τινος (= *persevērare in re*) 81. ὑπάρχει τίς τινι (83). Do the orators use κεῖνος? If not, *what* form besides ἐκεῖνος *do* they use? (83)

σκηπτός (87)
ῥῆγμα (88)
σπάσμα
ἀκονιτί (89)
προσθέσθαι
ἀγνωμοσύνη (90)
συμβόλαια
βακτηρία
σύμβολον
στρατόπεδον (94)
συνέχεια (95)
πλάνοι (95)
ἀναφορά (96)
συγκατηγορεῖν (98)
περιβάλλεσθαι (99)
ἀφορμή (100)
σύνταξις (101)
ἐκλέγειν
συστέλλειν (103)
ὁ ὠνούμενος

πάσας ἀφιέναι φωνάς (87). πολὺς ἔγκειμαι (89). αὐτόματος θάνατος. Μαραθῶνι. ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. Explain the *omission* and *insertion* of ἐν (90). τὸ κεφάλαιον (93). ἀγαπητόν ἐστιν (εἰ). ψήφους τιθέναι, ἀνταναιρεῖν (ἀντανελεῖν) (99). κενὰς χαρίζεσθαι χάριτας (101).

προφέρειν (106)
ἐπέχει
προσκροῦσαι
ἀξιῶ
ψυχρότης (107)
χορηγεῖν (108)
τριηραρχεῖν
φιλοτιμία
τὸ μέλαν
βάθρον
τελεῖν (108)
συσσκευωρεῖσθαι
νεβρίζειν
κρατηρίζειν
μάραθρον
λεύκη
ἔξαρχος
προηγεμών
ἔνθρυπτον
στρεπτός
ἐκπίπτειν
ἐκσυρίττειν
ἐκβάλλειν
παραναγιγνώσκειν (110)
λύσασθαι (111)
παρακρούεσθαι (113)
τυμπανιστρία
περίδειπνον (114)
λῆμα (115)
λαρυγγίζειν

εὐθύνας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι (104). διώκειν γραφήν (105). ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων (107). ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ παίδων. μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας ἀπολείπεσθαι (108). "ἔφυγον κακόν· εὗρον ἄμεινον" (108). περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. λαγὼ βίον ζῆν. συνεκδιδόναι τινὶ θυγατέρα (111).

ἀλάστωρ (117) ἐκκρούειν ἐξαιτεῖν
ἀκρωτηριάζειν ἐξίστασθαι (121) ἐξωλής
ἁπλῶς (120) ἐφάμιλλος προωλής
συνείρειν

ἀνελεῖν ἐκ μέσου (117). ἀρξάμενος ἀπό τινος (118).

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7	12	229	36	87	254
8	17	230	37	90	255
9	18	230	38	92	256
10	25	233	39	93	257
11	29	235	40	95	257
12	30	235	41	102	260
13	31	236	42	105	261
14	37	238	43	106	261
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16	39	238	45	107	262
17	40	239	46	110	263
18	42	240	47	111	263
19	42	240	48	115	265
20	50	242	49	116	265
21	53	243	50	117	266
22	54	243	51	118	266
23	56	244	52	118	266
24	60	245	53	119	267
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66	139	273	98	223	302
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70	145	276	102	240	307
71	154	278	103	244	308
72	155	279	104	248	309
73	155	279	105	251	310
74	156	279	106	252	311
75	157	280	107	256	312
76	158	280	108	257	312
77	160	281	109	265	315
78	164	282	110	267	315
79	165	282	111	268	316
80	166	283	112	270	316
81	167	283	113	276	317
82	168	284	114	285	320
83	169	284	115	289	322
84	180	288	116	291	322
85	181	288	117	294	323
86	188	291	118	297	325
87	192	292	119	301	326
88	196	293	120	306	327
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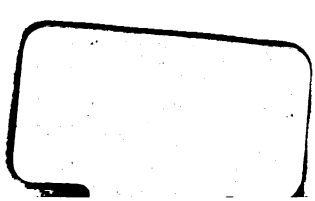
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